# Making place at the end of the world.

# An ethnography of tourism and urban development in Ushuaia, Argentina's Antarctic Gateway City.

Andrea Herbert

April 2014

Dept. of Anthropology

School of Social & Political Sciences

University of Canterbury

Christchurch, New Zealand

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

For my parents,

Rosi and Matthias Herbert

... and for Tessie and Felix,

future anthropologists?

## Table of Contents

## List of Figures

## List of Tables

## Acknowledgements

I love South America. Having lived a few years in Peru and travelled extensively across the continent, I continue to be amazed not only at the breathtaking and humbling landscapes and the extraordinary richness of South American cultures, but more than anything, at the warmth and generosity of the people I meet. Argentina proved to be no exception to these impressions. First and foremost, I wish to thank the residents and visitors of Ushuaia, Argentina, and Punta Arenas, Chile, with whom I had the pleasure of working. You made me feel exceptionally welcome, offered me your hospitality, your kindness, and your insights, and showed me the beauty and the challenges of the lands you call home. Without your cooperation and support, I couldn't have done this. Without your friendship and generosity, I wouldn't have enjoyed it as much as I did. Thank you.

In Ushuaia, special thanks to María Eugenia Sanchez for your friendship and priceless logistical support; Daniel Leguizamón for invaluable insights and your kindness and generosity in answering yet another set of questions; Daniel and Chino for your friendship; Facundo Gaillard for great chats and countless evenings in the kitchen together; Agustina Wilder and the Wilder family for your friendship and immense hospitality; Mónica Rivero for being my favourite Argentine vegetarian and good friend in Ushuaia; Patricia Alegría and family for your friendship and trust; Walter Cayo for being an always-cheerful companion and great tour-guide; the helpful and friendly Argentine 'Antarcticans' from the CADIC; Marcelo Davis and Julio Rodriguez for connecting me with ever-new sources of information; and the committed and passionate lecturers and students at the Universidad Nacional de la Patagonia San Juan Bosco.

In Punta Arenas, special thanks to the dedicated and knowledgeable scientists at the INACH and to the friendly and approachable employees and managers at DAP. Thank you to Cristián Vargas, manager of the iconic Hostal Patagonia House, where I resided during most of my time in the city. In Buenos Aires, thank you to Los Danis, who hosted me, spread good cheer, and shared vegetarian food and old memories with me. In Santiago, I would have been stranded without the help and friendship of the amazing Gabi Tegethoff, who welcomed me into her home and treated me like family. I couldn't have asked for a better way to end my fieldwork.

I owe a heartfelt thank you to my supervisors, without whose support I would have either handed in the 100-page anecdotal narrative I first believed to be my thesis, or abandoned ship long ago. Thank you to Dr Daniela Liggett, whose Antarctic passion and knowledge, straight-

forward and encouraging supervision style and supportive feedback kept me going. Thank you to Dr David Boarder Giles, whom I was so lucky to get onboard in the last year of my PhD, and whose patient, dedicated, and insightful support proved truly invaluable to me. Thank you to my primary supervisor, Dr Piers Locke, who kick-started my interest in an (up to that point, alien to me) Antarctic topic and provided helpful feedback throughout the process. A big thank you also to my examiners, Professor Michael Humphrey (University of Sydney) and Dr Juan F. Salazar (University of Western Sydney), for engaging with my thesis and providing thoughtful feedback and support. Thank you to Dr Patrick McAllister for chairing my VIVA.

It was a joy being affiliated with Gateway Antarctica. Thank you to the in-house Antarcticans for making me feel welcome and providing feedback and support along the way.

At LSAP, thank you to Denise Forbes and Patricia Ydgren for your competence and efficiency that always ensured that bureaucratic processes run smoothly, and most of all for your countless kindnesses and good cheer.

At the UC Learning Skills Centre, a big thank you to Glen Jackson, who tirelessly and patiently helped me format this thesis.

As a recipient of the UC Doctoral scholarship, I have been fortunate to have had financial support throughout my PhD programme. Thank you to the University of Canterbury for this, and to both SAPS and Gateway Antarctica for a much-needed and more-appreciated transcription grant in 2013. Thank you to my two transcribers, Claudia Carreno Tobar and Ayélen Tayagui, who produced flawless transcriptions of many of my interviews and allowed me to focus on other tasks.

Inspiration for my chosen field came from different sources. When I first realised I couldn't become an 'Indian', around age 12 (slow learner), I settled on the next best thing: becoming an anthropologist. In Grade 6, I was fascinated by tales from the field that Dr Franz Kröger, Bulsa-expert and outstanding story-teller, related to the class during a couple of relief teaching sessions. It took me a few years to connect this fascination with a possible career choice (again, slow learner), but when I approached Franz in 2001 to gather first-hand information about this field, I was quickly sold on it. Thank you, Franz, for being my mentor through the years, for encouraging me to stick with it, for providing academic advice and wisdom, for being an inspiration and an invaluable help, and a great colleague and friend.

My years at Philipps-Universität Marburg from where I graduated with a Master's degree in 2008 were pathbreaking. My initial unspecified interest in South America found a focus in the diverse and eye-opening teachings at the then-Institut fuer Völkerkunde. I credit Professor Dr Mark Münzel, under whom I had the privilege to study, and other dedicated lecturers, for my sustained passion for the field.

The PhD journey, it seems, can't always be smooth sailing. Earthquakes, information overload, time pressure and the likes have kept me on my toes and my therapists in business. But the rough patches became so much more bearable with a brilliant personal support network in place. I count myself exceptionally lucky and am very grateful to have had continual support and encouragement from friends around the world.

In New Zealand, thank you to the Bryndwr community for becoming my first 'real' New Zealand home, for your friendship, and for enduring my last-half-year-of-the-PhD-moods (sorry!). I am particularly endebted to the lovely Anne Heins and Phoebe Wright, who proofread parts of my thesis. Thank you to the inspirational Katie Earle, my Heybridge homie and dear friend. Thank you to Femke Reitsma for being an awesome friend, a formatting freak, and a great 'Thursday' Escape organiser. Thank you also to my fellow postgrad students at the UC, who shared the experience and provided much-needed breaks inbetween, especially Birian Habte and Erin Loo. The Best Cubicle Mate In The World, Chandan Bose, deserves a special mention and heartfelt thank you for not only being The Best Cubicle Mate In The World but also an all-around great person and dear friend. Thank you to Dave Mulhearn, for proofreading part of my thesis and for being a rock…'n roll kinda guy. Without your support and your encouragement or distraction when needed, even more marbles might have been lost along the way. In Germany, thank you to the amazing Ellen Over, Katharina Dreisbach, and Jenny Tack for being present for me. In 'Overseas', thank you to Kimberly Tang, who kept me sane and smiling over the (geographical) distance and long stretches of time, and with whom I first shared a coffee and slightly garbled thoughts in Ushuaia.

Last but not least, I wish to thank my parents, Rosi and Matthias Herbert, who in 2002 let me convince them that anthropology was the thing for me (and embraced my already-identified future work place around the corner: Forum der Völker, Werl) and since then have stuck with me, my travel fever, and my culture bug. Thank you so much for your understanding, your unwavering support, and your encouragement!

## Abstract

This thesis is concerned with the lived experience of placemaking in Argentina's Antarctic gateway port Ushuaia. Based on 12 months ethnographic fieldwork, it explores the relations between tourism, urban development, and socio-economic difference. As such, it investigates how agents from across the social spectrum conceive of, and construct their sense of place "at the end of the world". As the world's southernmost city, Ushuaia is attractive to tourists for its stunning landscapes, unique location, and strategic proximity to Antarctica. However, the image of a friendly tourist destination crucial to everyday life in this Patagonian city is contested by its stakeholders. This thesis looks beyond the image presented to tourists to explore frictions among residents, the city council, and touristic enterprises.

Ushuaia is revealed as an urban location beset by growing unrest due to issues of population growth and social polarization. This is analyzed in relation to its geopolitical significance for the Argentine state, territorial struggles with Chile, and economic incentives for in-migration. Consequently, this thesis considers the dynamic and shifting character of the city's population through an engagement with economic and lifestyle migrants, including those dwelling in non-legal settlements, and tourists who occupy Ushuaian space alongside more longstanding citizens. The thesis demonstrates how conflicting views collide regarding issues of urbanization, industrialization, tourism, and environmental conservation, analyzed in relation to the interests and concerns of different social constituencies. Through extensive interviewing with a diverse array of social actors, this thesis also explores the different levels of economic and socio-cultural attachment to Antarctica, suggesting a schism between Ushuaia's touristic representation, Antarctic alignment, and the needs and interests of its inhabitants. This thesis, then, explains the diverging place-based ideas and aspirations of different social groups in relation to the governmental, socio-economic, and socio-cultural forces implicated in placemaking.

**Keywords:** Ushuaia, Argentina, Antarctica, Antarctic gateway, Antarctic tourism, placemaking, sense of place, informal settlements, geopolitics, urban ethnography.

## Acronyms and abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AAI | International Antarctic Area (Área Antártica Internacional) |
| ARG$ | Argentine peso |
| ATCM | Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meeting |
| ATCP | Antarctic Treaty Consultative Party |
| ATS | Antarctic Treaty System |
| B&B | Bed & Breakfast |
| Bs.As. CF | Buenos Aires City (Capital Federal) |
| CADIC | Southern Centre for Scientific Research (Centro Austral de Investigaciones Científicas) |
| CBA | Basic Food Basket (Canasta Básica Alimentaria) |
| COMNAP | Council of Managers of National Antarctic Programs |
| COPSA | Chamber of Port Operators and Related Businesses (COPSA) |
| CV | Curriculum Vitae |
| DAP | Patagonian Airline (Aerovías DAP; acronym for founder's name: Domingo Andrés Pivcevic) |
| DPOSS | Provincial Management of Public Work and Sanitary Services (Dirección Provincial de Obras y Servicios Sanitarios) |
| EPA | Antarctic Polar Station (Estación Polar Antártica) |
| IAATO | International Association of Antarctic Tour Operators |
| INACH | Chilean Antarctic Institute (Instituto Antártico Chileno) |
| InFueTur | Fueguian Institute for Tourism |

| | |
|---|---|
| IPV | Provincial Institute of Housing (Instituto Provincial de Vivienda) |
| HEC | Human Ethics Committee (University of Canterbury, New Zealand) |
| IAATO | International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators |
| NAP | National Antarctic Programme |
| NGO | Non-governmental organisation |
| NyC | Resident born and bred in Ushuaia (Nacido y Criado) |
| PANC | Combined Antarctic Naval Patrol (Patrulla Antártica Naval Combinada) |
| VyQ | Resident who came to and stayed in Ushuaia (Venido y Quedado) |
| TaF | Resident who came to Ushuaia against his or her will (Traido a la Fuerza) |
| TDF or TdF | Tierra del Fuego |
| UC | University of Canterbury, New Zealand |
| UK | United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland |
| UN | United Nations |
| US or USA | United States [of America] |
| UNASUR | Union of South American Nations (Unión de Naciones Suramericanas) |
| UNTDF | National University Tierra del Fuego (Universidad Nacional de Tierra del Fuego) |
| UTHGRA | Hospitality and Gastronomic Workers Union (Unión de Trabajadores del Turismo, Hoteleros y Gastronómicos de la República Argentina) |
| SANAP | South African National Antarctic Programme |
| SUPAAS | Union of South Atlantic Argentine dockworkers (Sindicato Unido de Portuarios Argentinos del Atlántico Sur) |

# 1 Introduction

> There is not a tree, &, excepting the Guanaco, who stands on some hill top a watchful sentinel over his herd, scarcely an animal or a bird. – All is stillness & desolation. One reflects how many centuries it has thus been & how many more it will thus remain. – Yet in this scene without one bright object, there is a high pleasure, which I can neither explain or comprehend.
>
> (Darwin 2001:209 on his impressions of Patagonia)

> Ushuaia/ vomiting people/ from the mountains/ and the mills./ From the houses/ and the main street...
>
> (Anahí Lazzaroni, 'Ushuaia')[1]

Ushuaia is growing. In fact, it is one of the fastest growing places in Argentina (Mosti 2010) and simultaneously enjoys immense popularity amongst tourists. Situated in one of the world's most remote and stark environments, this Patagonian city of currently 57,000 inhabitants is visited by 270,000 visitors every year. The bulk of these tourists (38.2% or 92,000; Secretaría de Turismo 2010) arrive by cruise ship. In the summer season from September to March, cruise ships carrying up to 3,000 passengers each dock at the local port daily, offering tourists the chance to explore the city and its surroundings for several hours before continuing their journey. Aside from its popularity as a cruise ship destination, Ushuaia is also the world's most active Antarctic gateway port, receiving over 90% of all tourists that go to Antarctica (Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meeting XXXIV 2011).

Antarctica, a continent under a unique international management system,[2] is one of the most extreme and exotic touristic destinations of our times. Antarctic tourism has grown rapidly

[1] All quotations that were originally in Spanish, both from my own research and other literature used (including all newspaper articles, i.e. El diario del Fin del Mundo, Crónicas Fueguinas, Tiempo Fueguino, and La Prensa), have been translated by myself.

[2] Antarctica is administered through the Antarctic Treaty System (ATS), signed in 1959. The ATS currently has fifty signatory nations (Secretariat of the Antarctic Treaty 2011), of which seven (Argentina, Australia, Chile, France, New Zealand, Norway, and the UK) are claimant to Antarctic territory.

and intensely over the last three decades. While the first touristic[3] visit to Antarctica dates back to 1891, with landings made on peri-Atlantic islands, modern ship-borne tourism began in 1958 when Argentine vessels visited the South Shetland Islands and the west coast of the Antarctic Peninsula (Headland 1994). With Scandinavian operator Lindblad offering regular Antarctic cruises from 1970 on, touristic access to Antarctica became more widely established and was soon extended by aircraft overflights and eventually landings (Headland 1994:276). In the 1980s, Antarctic tourism began to flourish. Numbers rose sharply, from fewer than a thousand tourists in the austral summer season of 1980-81 (Enzenbacher 1993:142) to over 25,000 tourists who made landings in Antarctica (IAATO 2013; see Figure 1.1).[4]

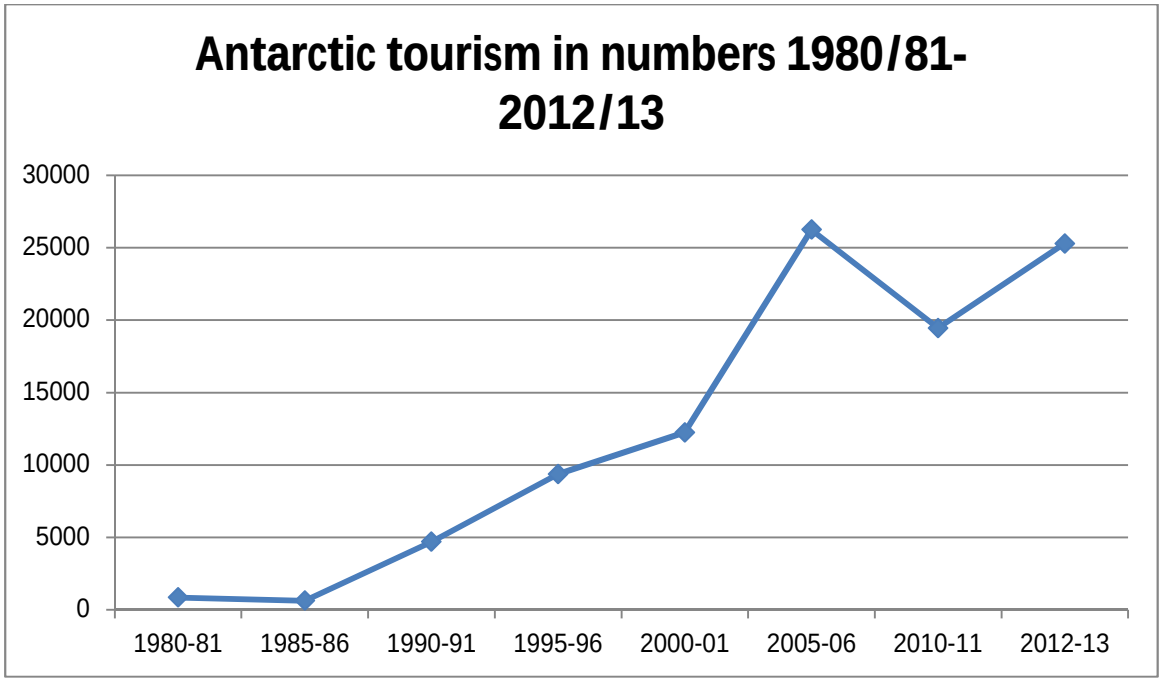



**Figure 1.1** Growth of Antarctic tourism in five-year intervals for landed visitors from 1980/81 to 2012/13 (Enzenbacher 1993; IAATO 2008, 2011, 2013).

[3] My interpretation of an Antarctic tourist follows Enzenbacher's who states that "[t]ourists are defined as visitors who are not affiliated in an official capacity with an established National Antarctic Programme" (1993:142).

[4] These numbers represent touristic visitors only, excluding accompanying staff and crew.

Ship-borne Antarctic tourism and the gateway port that services the vessels are interdependent. As a tourist destination, Ushuaia is advertised as a quaint, picturesque place, a remote town in an extreme environment. In one breath, the Secretariat of Tourism describes Ushuaia's orientation as two-fold:

> "[Ushuaia is] the city of the 'confine [confin, i.e. border, limit] of the planet' or 'the end of the world' and it has positioned itself as the main gateway port of global entry to the Antarctic continent, [and is the] unchallenged hemispheric capital of cruise tourism." (Secretaría de Turismo 2009)

The popularity of Ushuaia both as a destination for adventure and land-based tourism and as a convenient hop-off point to the Antarctic are mirrored in growing tourism numbers and an increase in touristic infrastructure (see Table 1.1). Touristic Ushuaia is flourishing.

**Table 1.1** Touristic development in Ushuaia by accommodation and number of cruise ships

| | **1992**[5] | **2000**[6] | **2010**[7] |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Number of arriving cruise ships** | 74 | 196 | 302[8] |
| **Number of accommodation establishments**[9] | 17 | 42 | 144 |
| **Number of available beds** | 1445 | 2357 | 5220 |

Ushuaia's importance as an Antarctic gateway port and its popularity as a tourist destination warrant a closer look at the host community in the form of an ethnographic

[5] Source: Wallingre 2004:92.

[6] Ibd.

[7] Source: Secretaría de Turismo 2011a:3.

[8] Source: Secretaría de Turismo 2011b:2.

[9] This category refers to officially sanctioned establishments including hostels, hotels, and bed & breakfasts, registered with the Municipality of Ushuaia.

investigation, an incisive tool for understanding the inhabitants' lived experiences as they relate to the socio-economic order of this Patagonian city.

The visitor first becomes aware of apparent incongruities between the destination image of Ushuaia as a quaint, picturesque town and the lived reality of some of its residents when taking a walk past the city's lively touristic main street. Downtown Ushuaia very much resembles a posh, affluent tourist city that could be found anywhere in the industrialized world. Upscale cafés and restaurants are side by side with travel agencies, jewellers, expensive clothing and outdoors equipment stores and touristic souvenir shops. On a second glance, and upon strolling a few streets up from the main tourist street, San Martín, another face of Ushuaia becomes visible. Streets are littered and less reliably paved, houses are more shabby-looking, with the occasional precarious-looking hut in between, and shops, except the occasional small corner store, are non-existent.

Indeed, the further towards the mountains the gaze travels, the more apparent are the traces of poverty and socio-economic inequality. While there are fringe benefits to many of the government-administration local jobs that abound in Ushuaia, and wages are significantly higher than in other parts of Argentina, Patagonia in general and Ushuaia in particular are places with a notoriously high cost of living. The promises of Ushuaia, Argentina's southernmost city and the product of multinational geopolitical struggles and heavy state capital expenditure, have attracted national and international immigration not only to "blessed land"[10], but have also welcomed many migrants to a harsh reality. Due to Tierra del Fuegos' geographic isolation and its reliance on imported commodities, the basic cost of living – rent, food, and clothing – are high, and with this, stand in sharp contrast to other Argentine regions and the neighbouring countries of Bolivia and Chile (cf. Figure 1.2). The following elaborations illustrate the often ensuing struggles that affect migrants with minimal education or a lack of marketable skills the most.

[10] Several research participants used this term to describe the perception they had of Ushuaia before migrating south. The term was also used by a Navy official in a public speech held at the celebration of the Flag Day (Día de la Bandera) on 27/02/2012 in Ushuaia.

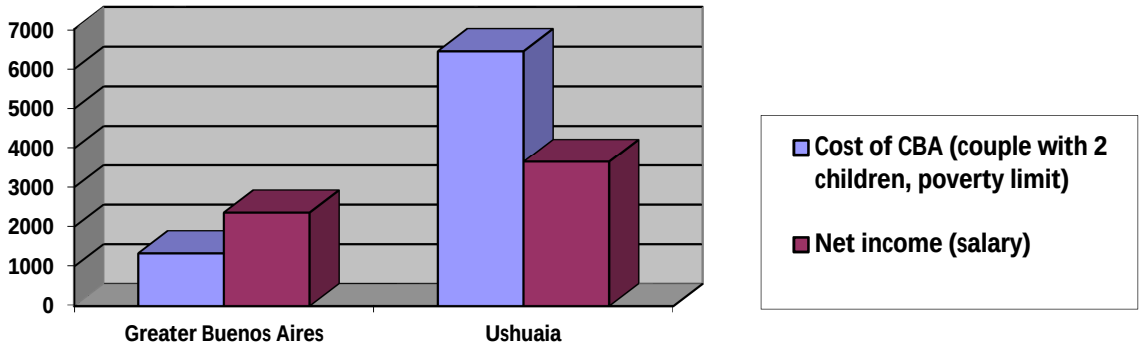



**Figure 1.2** Comparison of basic food needs (CBA) and net income between Buenos Aires and Ushuaia (Source: UTHGRA, adapted and translated).

The rising of already high rents due to increased demand was a perennial topic of conversation throughout my fieldwork. In 2010, a two-room apartment rented out for an average US$ 508[11] per month (Terrazas 2010:85). Many of my research participants expressed their struggles in meeting increases in rent. A Chilean-Argentine couple in their early thirties with two children under five years were facing the choice of either moving from their three-bedroom apartment to a two-bedroom apartment or taking in a lodger in order to cover the monthly rent which had risen by almost US$ 100 to approximately US$ 600 a month over the past year. Another resident, Mora, lived in a grubby garage that was converted into a one-room apartment (monoambiente) on the outskirts of the city, paying approximately US$ 300 per month. Mora considered herself lucky to have secured a place for herself alone as she compared her situation with that of many others in her circle of friends who had to share a room with one or more people for a comparable price.

The differing socio-economic levels within the city that the visitor, upon immersion, may become aware of are only the most visible consequences of inequality and difference that exist in Ushuaia. A hetereogenous and fast-changing city, Ushuaia and its touristic, socio-economic, and political processes are set within a wider frame of reference. This frame of reference is intimately connected with Argentine geopolitics in regard to Antarctica – a connection that I explore in this thesis.

[11] Here and throughout my thesis, I calculate with 1 US$ = 5.7 Argentine pesos.

## Research rationale and significance

Much has been written about Antarctic tourism and its impact on Antarctica, ranging from an ethical (Spennemann 2007) and ecological perspective (Frenot et al. 2005; Goessling 2002; Lueck 2010; Maher et al. 2011; Powell 2008) to policy and management concerns (Beck 1994; Davis 1999; Haase 2008; Hall 1992; Hall and Wouters 1994; Hughes 1994; Liggett et al. 2010; O'Reilly 2008) to the perception of tourists by scientists (Cessford and Dingwall 1994; Donachie 1994; Maher et al. 2003; Maher 2010; Nuttall 2010) and cruise ship culture (Asa Berger 2010; Foster 1986; Weaver 2005). However, the phenomenon of Antarctic tourism from the perspective of the main gateway community has not yet been sufficiently explored by means of an ethnographic methodology. The gateway port plays a crucial role in Antarctic tourism. With a steadily high demand to explore "the last frontier" or "the last wilderness" of Antarctica and Patagonia (Dann 1999; Otero et al. 2006; ATCM XXXV 2012), the gateway port will likely face increasing pressure from the environmental, political, social, and economic challenges that go along with this.

In this thesis, I outline and explore the social dynamics and processes connected with Antarctic and Patagonian tourism. To date, no literature has taken into account the gateway community's experiences, perceptions and livelihood strategies to do with tourism and change induced by rapid urban development. As no ethnographic studies have been conducted on the socio-economic and socio-cultural processes unfolding in Ushuaia, there is a profound lack of accounts of lived experience in the gateway port. The intention of this research is to generate an ethnography of the Antarctic gateway port that is the most active in terms of tourism, Ushuaia in Argentina. The findings from this ethnography will contribute to a better understanding of what implications rapid urban development and intense (seasonal) tourism have on the community as a whole. This thesis will also help to fill the existing literature gap on Antarctic gateway cities, and contribute to the understanding of how placemaking processes in Ushuaia are linked to Antarctica, and with that, to Antarctic tourism.

It is worth noting here that my research agenda changed and developed in the course of my year-long fieldwork. I commenced my research as an ethnography of tourism in an Antarctic gateway port, but soon realized that such a singular concern would not do justice to the multi-faceted situation that I discovered. Learning that positions in government administration account for a far greater degree of local employment than tourism, closely followed by the manufacturing industry and construction work (Secretariat of Tourism 2010; see Figure 1.4),

confirmed my realization. While tourism arguably remains the most visible economy in the city, its economic and historical relevance is relativized when taking into account that the Argentine state sought to develop Ushuaia's (non-touristic) economy from the mid-1950s on (Vairo 1998), several decades before Antarctic and cruise ship tourism became significant in the 1980s (Canclini 1980:122). As a consequence of these insights, I adjusted and redefined my research agenda to include aspects outside of or not directly related to (Antarctic) tourism, such as the existence of informal settlements in the outskirts of the city (see Chapter 6). Instead of limiting my research to an ethnography of tourism, I attempt to deliver a more holistic exploration and analysis of the Antarctic gateway city Ushuaia, without which an in-depth portrait of the city would be hard to achieve. Nevertheless, tourism remains a strong guideline throughout the thesis, as the touristic visitors, tourism planning, and tourism operations inform, influence, or shape nearly every sector of public life in the city.

## Research aims

For reasons that will be explored in the following chapters, Ushuaia's population has been rapidly increasing since the 1970s. The town grew from approximately 7,000 inhabitants in 1976 to almost 60,000 inhabitants today (Vairo 1998:146; INDEC 2010). As a consequence of its popularity and increasing rate of growth, Ushuaia has a highly heterogeneous population in terms of ethnicity and socio-economic status. The development agency Ushuaia Bureau[12], a civil association based on a public-private partnership between the municipality and local tourism-related businesses, describes the local community as

> "a community of different origins and interests, very diverse and multicultural. A population that has occupied the place in an urgent way, molding it to the rhythm of the migratory waves during the past 25 years. [Visitors] will see the distinct characters of those who came, combined with the families who had been here before. A multifaceted human group, several Ushuaias in one! A city "under construction", odd, different from other Argentine cities, still disorganised but set in a natural environment of exquisite beauty that deserves to be visited." (Agencia Desarrollo Ushuaia Bureau 2008, translation mine)

[12] The association lists as one of its goals "the promotion and improvement of touristic activities as a factor of Ushuaia's economic development" (Agencia Desarrollo Ushuaia Bureau 2013).

Although accurate in its acknowledgment of socio-cultural difference, recent history, and ongoing urban development, this description (understandably so, given its touristic purpose) fails to point out the ensuing difficulties, challenges, and hurdles that Ushuaia's heterogeneous population faces. In my thesis, I aim to "unpack" the touristic representation of the city and explore what lies behind.

The different groups of inhabitants that are settled in Ushuaia and the different orientations (touristic, Antarctic, and industrial) the city embraces indicate differing levels of place attachment, sense of place, and place-based aspirations. I explain the concepts of place attachment and sense of place in the following sections of this chapter. Place is here understood as a

> "multifaceted phenomenon of experience (…) [with] various properties, such as location [the geographical dimension], landscape [the physical, visual dimension], and personal involvement [the meaning that is attached to place]." (Relph 1976:29)

In this thesis, I examine the conflicting understandings and appropriations of place in Ushuaia. I aim to explain the inner workings and the social organisation of an Antarctic gateway city, a highly heterogeneous community undergoing intense seasonal tourism, and a place that in its rapid growth resembles a boom town. According to Susskind and O'Hare (1977:8), boom towns are characterised by certain socio-economic aspects that arise as consequences to a substantial growth in population over a relatively short period. These consequences include societal fragmentarisation, shortage of housing, inflationary trends resulting from rising land prices, and the excessive use of available resources, especially water resources.

Throughout my thesis, I explore the ways in which some of these aspects manifest in Ushuaia. By outlining the repercussions of growth and practices of city branding[13] that lack alignment with a big part of the community behind it, I explore the differing notions of place attachment and how the built environment can shape and manipulate perceptions of place. I

[13] City branding is here understood as "a process of inclusion and exclusion that privileges and highlights some aspects and ways of understanding a city while marginalizing others" (Stevenson 2013:146).

argue that placemaking[14] visions and strategies employed by tourism stakeholders, i.e. the municipality, tourism agencies and operators, conflict with the lived reality and place perceptions of a substantial part of the population. Much of the present-day socio-economic disorder results from the incongruities between municipal ambitions and residential needs and aspirations.

A special emphasis throughout my thesis is on the social relationships between different groups of residents and between residents and tourists. Social interactions are key aspects in the production of place and place attachment (Milligan 1998). From a social constructivist perspective, the production of meaning through social interactions determines and influences residents' attachment to place. Drawing on data from a large-scale British community study, urban sociologists Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) argue that rather than population size and community density, it is often the length of residence and the degree of social connectedness developed in its course that determine one's attachment to place. It is along these lines that, in the case of Ushuaia, social classifications amongst the longer-established residents arise, by which the population is divided into differently valued categories (cf. Chapter 3). The increasing dis-placement of people through migration and gentrification results in upheaval and change in the social composition of communities. The fast-growing, socio-culturally heterogeneous Ushuaian community is an ideal place to study social interactions between community members, all of which are based on perceptions of space and place. I argue that different parts of the population have diverging understandings of place and conflicting place-based aspirations or needs. These differing perceptions and needs can be traced back to Ushuaia's historic importance as a geopolitical hub and to the subsequent socio-economic developments that I explore in later sections of this chapter.

## Research questions

Using Ushuaia as a case study, my thesis explores how a city is integrated within larger scales of national economy and political processes. The proliferation of Ushuaia's touristic image by government and tourism entities and Ushuaia's Antarctic connection have to be seen in the

[14] Placemaking is a concept that originated in the 1960s, particularly instigated by the Canadian writer and activist Jane Jacobs (1961), which describes the processes involved in an urban development that aims at making cities (and public spaces in particular) more attractive for residents.

context of wider historic, political, and socio-economic flows. The urban processes that I am exploring in Ushuaia are linked to governance dynamics that in turn are informed by the geopolitical importance that Patagonia in general, and Ushuaia in particular, hold for the Argentine government. The three principal guiding themes in my thesis, then, are place, tourism, and Antarctica. As such, I explore three main questions:

1. What role does (government-driven) placemaking play in the ongoing socio-spatial processes in Ushuaia?
2. How do the consequences of growth and intense seasonal tourism manifest in Ushuaia?
3. What place do Antarctica and Antarctic tourism hold in the social, political, and urban developments in Ushuaia?

My thesis allows qualitative insights into how socio-economic change induced by governance decisions manifests in Ushuaia. It also contributes to the understanding of place and the processes of placemaking in a specific South American and Antarctica-related context. My research highlights the way in which tourism is utilised in creating place as a commodity, and how the urban developments that ensue change and modify the residents' sense of place. Due to its ethnographic and qualitative character, my research offers insights into the perspectives and experiences of Ushuaian residents whose lives are shaped and influenced by aspirations and decisions made at national and provincial levels.

## Theoretical framework

The working definition of place attachment that I adhere to in my research was elaborated by Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) who define it as

> "a positive affective bond between an individual and a specific place, the main characteristic of which is the tendency of the individual to maintain closeness to such a place." (2001:274)

The concept of sense of place that geographer Robert Hay (1998) developed in a study located in Banks Peninsula, a small coastal community on the south island of New Zealand, extends the concept of place attachment by taking into account "the social and geographical context of place bonds and the sensing of places, such as aesthetics and a feeling of dwelling" (1998:5). My understanding of sense of place in this thesis follows that of Hay, who suggests that insider status and local ancestry are essential aspects in the development of a sense of place that stresses belonging. In the case of Ushuaia, the aspect of landscape plays into residents' sense of

place. As such, the concept of sense of place that I adhere to in my thesis also reflects that of David Hummon (1992), a sociologist working within a more naturalistic paradigm, who defines it as dual in nature, "involving both an interpretive perspective on the environment and an emotional reaction to the environment" (1992:262). I use these terms to describe and make sense of the ways in which Ushuaian residents speak about living in Ushuaia, and the ways in which they relate to both the geographical and imagined place. The concepts of sense of place and place attachment reflect local constellations of meanings employed by residents to explain, define, and justify relationships among different socio-economic groups in Ushuaia.

I have defined place, place attachment, and sense of place in terms of a multifaceted phenomenon of experience, affective bonds, and the social and geographic contexts of these affective bonds. I am going to expand on these terms below, as conflicting senses of place emerge out of conflicting identities and conflicting economic relationships, all of which I will explore and elaborate on later in my thesis.

Place is space endowed with meaning (Relph 1976; Tuan 1977:6). It is when differing meanings of place meet that singular, or dominant, interpretations of space become contested. In my thesis, I explore how spatial meanings are established in Ushuaian society, and identify the sources that hold the power to make a place of local space. Tourism as a force that commodifies place, and as such, creates and operates on a certain interpretation of place, is of central interest in my thesis. With Ushuaia's heterogeneous population and varied streams of outlooks on city orientation, conflicting understandings and imaginings of place arise. A factor that plays into this is the differing levels of attachment to place that exist among Ushuaian residents. Lacking a unanimously established definition among scholars of different disciplines, place attachment has been equated or substituted with sense of place (Hummon 1992), place dependence (Stokols and Shumaker 1981), and place identity (Proshansky 1978). Scholars from various disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, human geography, and environmental psychology disagree about the relationships between these terms (see Koons Trentelman 2009 for an excellent discussion).

My understanding of aspects influencing and shaping place attachment mirrors that of sociologist Per Gustafson (2001). Building on Relph's (1976) and Tuan's (1977) suggestion that meaning is of central importance in the conceptualization of place, Gustafson uses a qualitative research approach that investigates his research participants' relationships to place. He proposes three dimensions that are integral to the production of meaning and with that, the

formation of place attachment. His Self-Others-Environment theory holds that place attachment is formed (1) on the personal level (Self) through associations with personal meanings, for example generated by memories and self-identification; (2) is influenced by those around us and the social relations we have with them (Others); and (3) through interactions with the physical environment[15]. Place attachment indicates being in surroundings that make their inhabitants feel comfortable and safe (Hernández et al. 2007:310). The affective bond between people and places is created and maintained through interactions with the environment (Brandenburg and Carroll 1995; Brown and Raymond 2007; Koons Trentelman 2008:200). Climate[16] is one dimension of the meaning that can be attached to place (Knez 2005). Tierra del Fuego's extreme climate, alluded to by Darwin in the quote at the beginning of this chapter, plays an important role in shaping residents' perceptions and experiences. The struggle of economic immigrants from the warmer climates of Northern Argentina or Bolivia and Chile to feel at home in Ushuaia can be partly explained by what environmental psychologists refer to as the "general human preference" to settle in places that are similar climate-wise to the one they grew up in (cf. Morgan 2010; Knez 2005).

While a comprehensible point, this view, however, neglects the possibility of different motivational imperatives in different social groups, not factoring in aspects such as the migrants' socio-economic circumstances, social relations and social connectedness. A simple example from my fieldwork illustrates this. Flor, a woman in her early thirties who lived alone with her two-year old daughter in an unfinished one-room shack in an informal settlement at the margins of Ushuaia, confessed to me that she strongly disliked the local climate. Hailing from a hot and dry northern Argentine province that she had left seven years ago to look for better-paid employment in Ushuaia, Flor worked as a cleaner in a local hostel. Her unhappiness with the local climate was partly due to a strongly decreased mobility in the cold season, when Flor found herself confined to the indoors due to the lack of a family or neighbour network to help look after her daughter. With no public play grounds within walking distance from her house, few

[15] For an approach to the relationship between human beings and their natural environment that does not disaggregate the self from the social and the environment, see Ingold (2009).

[16] For a discussion of the existential relationship between human beings and their environment, specifically the climate, see Ingold, who argues for the centrality of weather to life and experience, suggesting that "the experience of weather lies at the root of our moods and motivations; indeed it is the very temperament of our being" (2010:S122).

economic recourses and a lack of skills to participate in outdoors winter activities, Flor perceived her life as restricted and isolated. Further inconvenience was added by the fact that she had no car due to low income and lack of driving skills, which meant that she had to rely on public transport. The closest bus stop to her house (the informal settlement she lived in was not serviced by public transport) was ten minutes' walking distance, which turned into a tiresome undertaking with her young child in tow and often iced-over paths to manage. Thus restricted by climate conditions, but motivated or forced by her economic circumstances, Flor struggled to develop a high level of place attachment.[17]

Similarly to the natural environment, the built environment influences residents' attachment to place by providing markers for lived experiences and memories (cf. Tuan 1975). For example, older established residents[18] in Ushuaia frequently made mention of the forested hills behind the city, the trees of which are nowadays showing some gaps due to informal housing being erected in the forest, and with a mixture of fondness and pride recounted memories of hardships and overcoming obstacles. They also often made references to the abundance and wildness of space available and the remoteness of single constructions within it that prevailed until the 1970s when the population began to grow rapidly. Older residents who had grown up in Ushuaia also recounted some of their life experiences in connection with traditional buildings before they were made part of the local cultural patrimony or became touristic attractions. A frequently mentioned example was the building Ramos Generales in the street closest to the water front, Avenida Maipú. Originally Ushuaia's first general store that sold not only meat and dried goods but also tools, clothes, and a variety of other items, it now hosts a thriving touristic café. Some of my research participants remembered Ramos Generales for the commodities that were available there and which, as they increased in range and quality over time, made life easier and signalled the beginning of a changing, growing Ushuaia. As urban developments shape or re-shape residents' surroundings and their functions, place becomes

[17] In general and based on my case-specific research results, I consider place attachment to be strong when the resident in question reports feeling a sense of belonging and/or identifies with his/her surroundings (for example, through origin by identifying as a Fueguino, or through affiliation to a network of relations), has a sustained interest in the long-term economic and/or ecological wellbeing of the place he or she inhabits, and has plans to remain, settle, or retire in Tierra del Fuego.

[18] The denominations and characterisations of local social groups, including established residents, will be explored in greater depth in Chapter 3.

more or less attractive to its inhabitants (see Francis et al. 2012 on the importance of public space in the creating of sense of community). In my thesis, I explore the role that landscape and the built environment play in Ushuaians' perception of place and their attachment to it on the grounds of these theoretical assumptions. In accordance with research findings by Massey (1994a, 1995) who argues that places have to be seen as processes, not frozen in time in a single, heterogeneous identity, but rather defined by the dynamic social interactions and networks that connect their inhabitants, I show how in Ushuaia, there are multiple readings and understandings of place.

Being an economic haven in appearance and in some sectors of employment in actuality, Ushuaia attracts economic migrants who are highly mobile.[19] This mobility does not necessarily lead to higher place attachment; on the contrary, these workers are perceived as temporary residents only by established city inhabitants, and often consider Ushuaia a mere "stop-over" themselves. The situation at hand instead matches the argument the environmental psychologists Hernández et al. (2007) make, in which they claim that place identity and place attachment overlap. In my thesis, I show how in Ushuaian society, the established residents make distinctions between insiders (who identify with the place and feel a high level of attachment to it) and outsiders (who regard the place in terms of economic usefulness and report little attachment to it beyond this) on the grounds of length of residence, environmental behaviour, and perceived place attachment. I also show how in Ushuaia, place dependence precedes place attachment (cf. Vaske and Kobrin 2001), as many economic migrants base their livelihoods on sectors of society that are independent from the commodified natural environment found in tourism-oriented constructions of both quaintness (the town) and wilderness (the natural surroundings). The result of this is that economic migrants often remain relatively unattached to the place. Other sectors of Ushuaian society on the other hand, including the tourism and Antarctic tourism sector, depend on the natural and built environment and develop levels of attachment to place that differ from those of economic or temporary residents. It is at the intersections of Ushuaia's three dominating orientations – Antarctic gateway, touristic destination, and industry haven – that I situate my thesis.

[19] The extreme version of this can be found in migrant workers (trabajadores golondrinas, "swallow workers" after the migratory bird) who follow seasonal construction work and leave after the contract has ended to pursue similar employment in warmer regions.

## Setting

In order to understand the placemaking processes that underlay my research findings in Ushuaia, it is necessary to locate the city in both the region it is situated in and its recent history. Patagonia[20] is comprised of the southernmost parts of South America, belonging to both Argentina and Chile, with the biggest part of it Argentine (Figure 1.3). The Argentine part of Patagonia includes the provinces of Neuquén, Río Negro, Chubut, Santa Cruz, and the eastern part of Tierra del Fuego. Ushuaia, the provincial capital of Tierra del Fuego, is branded as the mysterious end of the world and yet resembles "an industrial city with cosmopolitan pretensions" (van Aert 2004:11). It is a place that combines a vivid past of indigenous life and daring Western explorations, a generally prosperous industrial present, and a future that is uncertain in its commercial orientation (this will be explored further in Chapters 5 and 8). Ushuaia lends itself to vivid projections – "a place where you have to shovel money off the streets"[21] – and touristic aspirations of adventure and solitude. It forms part of a contemporary culture which feels that its identity is intimately connected to and formed by the Patagonian landscape it is surrounded by (Garramuño 2004). It is worth pointing out that this connection is not limited to the geophysical characteristics of the landscape, but rather extends to the various possibilities for touristic exploration and economic opportunity inherent in the Patagonian landscape. The landscape therefore holds a special significance in the culturally constructed and economically encouraged imaginary of parts of Ushuaia's population.

[20] This region begins at around 38°S Lat., south of the Río Negro, and extends to 55°S Lat. at Cape Horn. To the east, Patagonia is limited by the Atlantic Ocean, and to the west, by the Andes which are carved out into fjords, valleys, and lakes. The Chilean part of Patagonia includes the provinces of Valdivia, Los Lagos, Chiloé, Puerto Montt, and part of the islands and fjords to the South of Aisén and Magallanes regions. This includes the western part of Tierra del Fuego and Cape Horn.

[21] These are the words a research participant, Ulises, used when describing how he imagined Ushuaia to be before migrating south from Buenos Aires.


**Figure 1.3** Map of Patagonia (Source: National Geographic Society 2004).

Patagonia is a region that has engaged the imagination and inspired the writings of many adventurers and travel writers. With its extreme climate and landscape, its aboriginal past, and its conflict-laden history of territorial struggles with Chile and of invasion and assimilation of indigenous peoples, Patagonia offers fertile territory for nature- and spirits-based legends (see Montes 2000) and travel projections. The wonder and estrangement expressed by Darwin on his travels in the 19th century have been reflected in countless works (Bridges 1948; Chatwin 1977; Darwin 2001; Hudson 1893; Prichard 1902; Shipton 1963). The original inhabitants of Patagonia informed and influenced many of these writings and shaped how this region was perceived by

both visitors and readers. The Fueguian Indians[22], organised in different ethnic groups, were hunter-gatherers with nomadic lifestyles (Vairo 1998:18ff). Robert FitzRoy, captain of the HMS Beagle on which Charles Darwin travelled to the South Cone during 1831-1836, famously took four native Fueguinos[23] to Europe where he exposed them to a greater public (see Toumey 1987 for an excellent description). This unprecedented undertaking was followed by similar exhibitions of other Fueguian Indians (see Manouvrier 1881 for a fascinating debate on the Savage versus the Civilised) that responded to the Western public's hunger for the exotic. Except for scattered descendants of the original indigenous groups, present-day Tierra del Fuego is void of living indigenous culture. Over the course of less than a century, the original inhabitants of the Patagonian region had fallen victim to imported European diseases, forced so-called civilisation missions, and killing sprees by the European invaders (Lipschutz 1962:106ff; Vairo 1998:36ff).

Present-day Patagonia is defined by an economy that is largely dependent on natural resources, particularly hydrocarbons, mining, fishing, and sheep-farming (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2014a), as well as the manufacturing industry and tourism. Due to generally favourable working conditions and a growing industry in the past, the region has been shaped by both amenity[24] (lifestyle-related, see Moss 2006) and economic immigration, concepts that form key topics of concern in Chapter 7. To understand the present-day situation and Ushuaia's popularity with migrants, it is necessary to look at geopolitical developments of the past. In the following few paragraphs, I outline the way in which Patagonia, the isolated and barren-seeming

[22] Patagonia was first populated around 12,000 years ago, when the Foot Indians, who later split into subgroups, wandered in from Asia (Conway 2005, also see Piana and Orquera 2009). The original settlers of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego were the Yámanas (also known as Yaganes), the Onas (also known as Selk'nam), the Haush (also known as Manekenk), and the Alacalufes (also known as Halakwoolip). The Europeans discovered this part of the world in 1520, when Juan Sebastián Elcano, who was part of the Portuguese Hernándo de Magallanes' expedition, arrived in Tierra del Fuego (Vairo 1998; Martinic 2002:25). The name Tierra del Fuego supposedly stems from Magallanes himself who named the region after the campfires of the Fueguian Indians on the shores (Chatwin 1977:111).

[23] My research participants referred to a person who was born in the Province of Tierra del Fuego as Fueguian (span. fueguino/a). This term does not commonly make reference to the original inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, the Fueguian indigenous peoples. I use the terms Fueguino and Fueguina interchangeably with the English adaptation Fueguian.

[24] Amenity migration is a term introduced by Moss (2006) that describes relocating for lifestyle-related reasons.

region in the extreme south of South America, came to be considered valuable by the Argentine government.

**The process of ascribing value to Patagonia**

Chile was colonized by Spain in 1540 (Gale 2006), but European attempts to settle in the inhospitable conditions of Patagonia failed. Only in the 17th century did Europeans gradually establish an economy in Northern Patagonia which was mainly based on ranching. In the fight for more land, the indigenous people of the pampa, the Tehuelche, were either killed by disease or slaughtered (Conway 2005, also see Gusinde 1982; Nicoletti 2006: Ygobone 1945:143f).[25] The South of Chile, with its arid, cool climate and rough winds, its allegedly fierce indigenous peoples and the Andes as a natural barrier to the colonisers, remained isolated until the 19th century. Following independence from Spain in 1810, both Chile and Argentina began to struggle competitively for land, which, although inhospitable, difficult to access and of no obvious economic benefit, was equated with political power through the expansion of territory (van Aert 2013:199). In 1843, Chile aimed to nationalize the region south of Bío-Bío to prevent it from being claimed by other nations. For this purpose, an outpost was moved to Punta Arenas, a penal colony that was redefined for colonization in 1853. From 1870 onwards, a mining and ovine economy was established in southern Patagonia, and migrations to the South were encouraged by the Chilean government (Gale 2006).

Argentina in turn decided to expand regionally in 1862 (Navarro Floria 2003). In 1869 the first white European, an Anglican missionary, settled in still vastly unknown native Ushuaia (Vairo 1998). Argentine government in Patagonia was established in 1878. Border quarrels between Argentina and Chile followed, until both countries signed the Border Treaty of 1881 (van Aert 2013:201), dividing Tierra del Fuego strategically so that neither country had access to both oceans. The Patagonian "civilizing mission" of both the Chilean and the Argentinean government included the rapid development of infrastructure, the construction of a railway

[25] In present-day Ushuaia, historic indigenous aspects are used for touristic purposes, for example in the naming of hostels and hotel rooms (Haush) or on the souvenir market where little wooden figurines of indigenous people and masks are sold. The indigenous heritage is also found in street names (Yaganes, Alacalufes) and is displayed in two museums (Museo del Fin del Mundo; Museo Yámana). Apart from these intermittent reminders, not much speaks of the culturally rich past.

supported by the British[26] (Peñaloza 2008), the establishment of an export economy, European immigration and expansion, and radically transformed the landscapes and communities of Tierra del Fuego (Barbas Rhoden 2008).

**From outpost to economic hub: Ushuaia**

Ushuaia and its present-day thriving economy which continues to attract migrants can only be understood in a wider historical, socio-economic and political context. In the process of staking geopolitical territory, Ushuaia was officially founded on 12 October 1884 with the inauguration of a Navy post that took over from an Anglican missionary settlement. With this, the southern part of Patagonia was formally integrated into the Argentine nation state. Shortly thereafter, settlers from south-eastern Europe, Italy and Spain began to establish themselves in Ushuaia, followed by those looking for gold (Vairo 1998). In 1895, a traveller described Ushuaia as

> "...sixteen houses with no comforts [that] form streets visible only because of the distance between them; five minor stores, a school with a few children which is closed most of the time because there is no building for it, a steamer sawmill (...) a beautiful and ample bay scarcely visited by ships, an Anglican mission in front and, finally, eighty inhabitants who live 600 leagues away from Buenos Aires isolated and yawning." (in Vairo 1998:70)

This isolation soon diminished as Argentina actively began to raise population numbers in and around Ushuaia. A penal colony was established in 1902 (Vairo 1998:104), and by 1914, 1,558 inhabitants were registered in Ushuaia. In 1925, the neighbouring city Río Grande was founded on the other side of the Cordillera, approximately 120km northwest of Ushuaia. Now boasting industry and some 70,000 inhabitants, it represents a site of economic competition to contemporary Ushuaia (Vairo 1998:136), and in the first half of the 20th century provided another incentive for migrants to move to Tierra del Fuego. Ushuaia's penal colony was closed in 1947, followed by the founding of the air-sea base the next year. Argentina, economically boycotted by the United States through the Marshall Plan after its declared neutrality during the Second World War, expanded its military presence in the South. The Navy Base was built on the former prison grounds in 1950. Further, the opening of a commercial market and a more

[26] For a discussion of British economic and geopolitical interests in Argentina, of which the railway is a part, see Peñaloza (2008) and Thompson (1992).

residential atmosphere changed the city's character (van Aert 2013:204f) and made Ushuaia more inviting to new migrants and their families.

On the Argentine side, calls for a more decentralized region (see Ygobone 1945:127; Torres 2010:195) demanded a higher degree of political autonomy for Tierra del Fuego. In 1951, Argentina introduced the provinces system. This system of decentralized sovereignty did not reach Tierra del Fuego for several decades, which continued as a Maritime Government with a Navy official serving as governor from 1943 onwards. In 1957, Tierra del Fuego was established as National Territory. The acting governor, Raúl Alfonsín, started the process of establishing this region as a province in 1986, which was achieved in 1990 (Canclini 1984).

The times in which Patagonia was regarded as an "obstacle that one had to overcome to be able to reach the Pacific Ocean" (Torres 2010) are long gone. The industrious region in the south is seen as one of the nation's most prosperous areas. From the mid-1950s on, measures were undertaken in order to promote the economic development of Tierra del Fuego and increase Ushuaia's competitiveness against Punta Arenas. Patagonia, at that point the poorest and least inhabited region in Argentina, had been declared a national priority (Vairo 1998:144). Until the early 1990s, Ushuaia had been dependent on both funds sent from Buenos Aires and tax exemptions. In 1991, the city became the administrative capital of the new province of Tierra del Fuego, Antarctica and Islands of the South Atlantic Provinces (Bertram et al. 2007) and with this, acquired a higher degree of administrative responsibilities. This political upgrade aligned with other steps the Argentine government implemented to support Ushuaia's development and status from the 1980s onwards. First, in 1956, the zone was declared tax-exempt, a new customs area was established, and finally, in 1972, a law for the promotion of industrial development through tax exemptions and favourable credits (Law 19640) was introduced. This meant that companies do not pay tax on profits, employees do not pay tax on income, and goods are exempt from import or value tax (van Aert 2013:205). In 1966, the state-owned airline LADE (Lineas Aereas del Estado) offered regular flights to Ushuaia and Río Grande, which improved access to and from the Argentine mainland and supported tourism to the island. In 1995, the airport was expanded, followed by an increase in size and fortification of the quay in 1999 (Bertram et al. 2007).

These changes attracted short-term worker migrants to the island, and the number of registered inhabitants began to rise. Since the 1980s, the human population in the Isla Grande of Tierra del Fuego has quadrupled (Conway 2005; see Table 1.2).

**Table 1.2** Population growth in Ushuaia between 1960 and 2010

| Year | 1960 | 1966 | 1976 | 1980 | 1991 | 2001 | 2010 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Inhabitants** | 3,453[27] | 4,470[28] | 7,171[29] | 11,443[30] | 29,166[31] | 45,758[32] | 56,825[33] |

The sudden and overwhelming surge in population that occurred in the 1970s has created a unique demographic profile. Ushuaia is informally often referred to as "the city without grandparents". The majority of Ushuaian inhabitants (84%) are under fifty years of age, with more than half of the population (54%) under 30 years of age. Only a fraction (6%) of the people living in Ushuaia are sixty years and older (Secretaría de Turismo 2010:6; see Figure 1.4). Following the migration of young people Ushuaia that hoped to improve their economic wellbeing, the 1990s saw a surge of births. The first generation of what some of my research participants referred to as "full-blooded Fueguians[34]" was formed. Ushuaia's few older inhabitants are mostly descendants of the pre-industrial area (van Aert 2004:43).

[27] Vairo 1998:146.

[28] Ibd.

[29] Ibd.

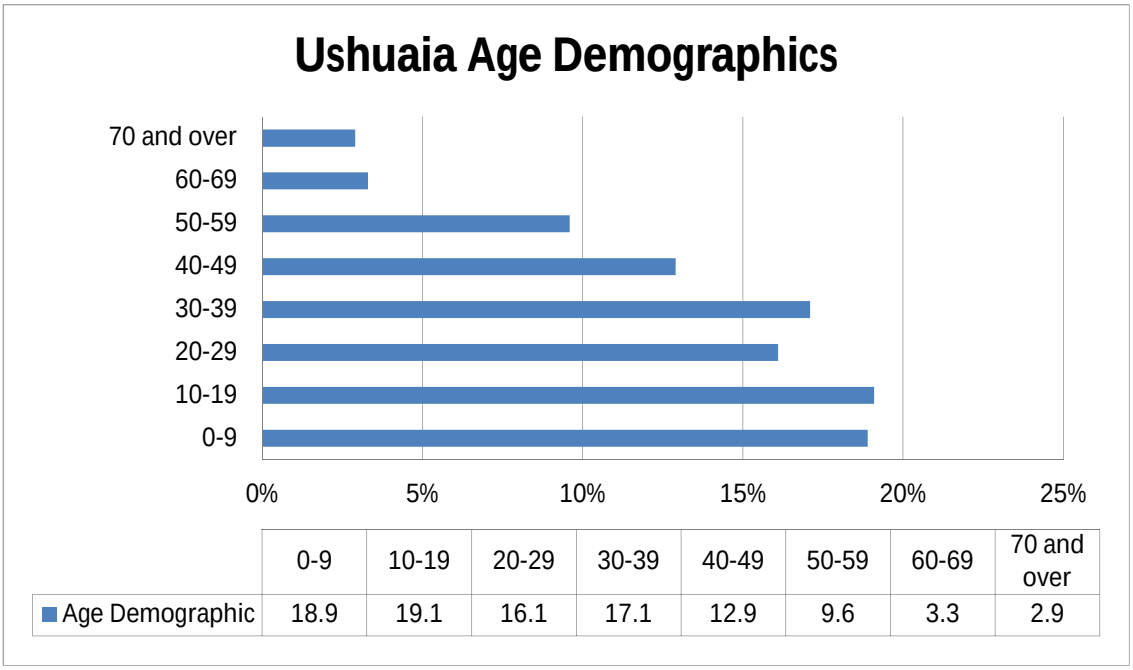
[30] Frías and Gessaga 2010.

[31] INDEC 1991.

[32] INDEC 2001.

[33] INDEC 2010.

[34] Note that this is an emic expression.




| | 0-9 | 10-19 | 20-29 | 30-39 | 40-49 | 50-59 | 60-69 | 70 and over |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age Demographic | 18.9 | 19.1 | 16.1 | 17.1 | 12.9 | 9.6 | 3.3 | 2.9 |

**Figure 1.4** Age demographics of Ushuaia (Based on data from INDEC 2010).

An overview of local employment sectors in Ushuaia indicates both the importance of the tourism sector for the city and the balance it keeps with the other main sectors of governmental positions and the manufacturing industry (Figure 1.5).

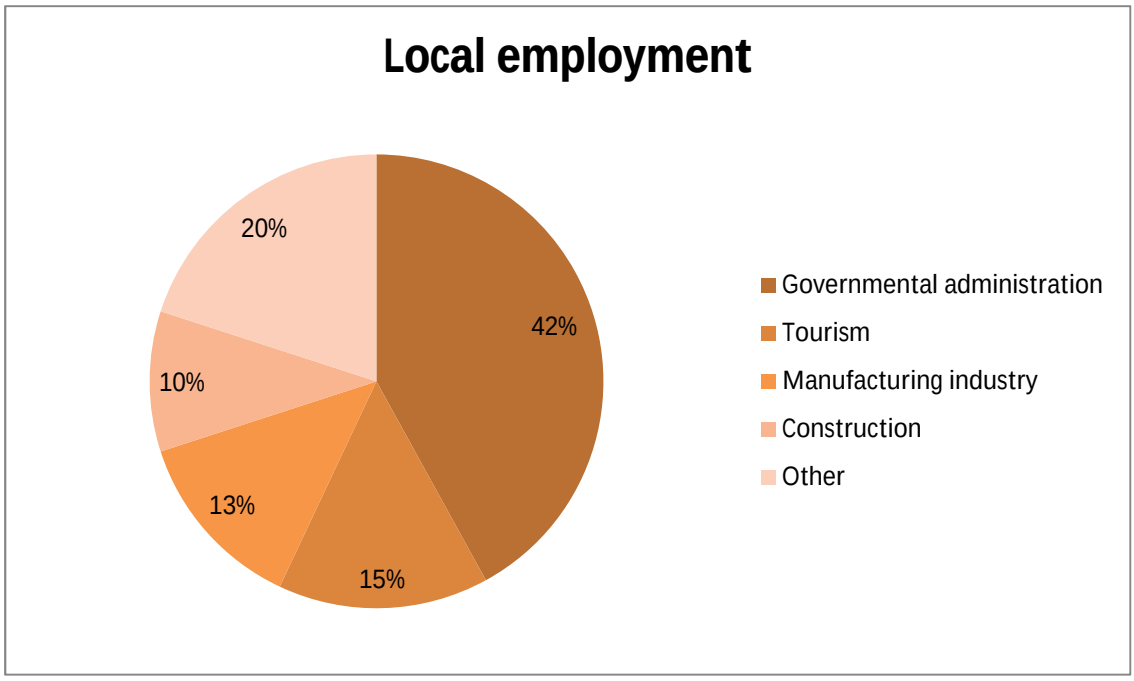



**Figure 1.5** Employment in Ushuaia (Based on data from the Secretariat of Tourism 2010).

Contrary to what I first believed about the city, despite Ushuaia's touristic popularity and its status as the world's most active Antarctic gateway port in terms of tourism, tourism as a productive sector does not rank first in the local and provincial economy. This becomes comprehensible when taking into account that tourism is a market that created and sustained itself without being exclusively externally subsidised. In this it stands in contrast to the governmental and manufacturing[35] sectors, which maintain their status through contributions and subsidies by the Argentine nation-state. In the case of the touristic economy, the extremity of Ushuaia's geographic location (both in its isolation and proximity to Antarctica) acts in favour of its touristic appeal, as Ushuaia is regarded as either an exciting or convenient destination for adventure tourists or Antarctic tourists respectively. In the case of the manufacturing industry, the province's isolated geographic location understandably does not act as an enticing factor per se for investors and companies. Therefore, an external impetus in the form of tax subsidies was necessary to attract businesses to the province.

Tierra del Fuego's socio-economic history and its geopolitical importance for the Argentine government have shaped the province's present. Not only are the socio-economic and geopolitical factors the reason for the surge in population and the ongoing steady influx of migrants, but they also determine present-day administrative, touristic, and political decisions, and impact on the everyday lives of Ushuaian residents. This thesis explores the ways in which these impacts manifest.

## Preview of thesis organisation

In order to gain comprehensive insight into the gateway community and gather in-depth data on the research questions outlined at the beginning of this chapter, I needed to utilise an appropriate set of research methods. In **Chapter 2** (Methodology), I outline my methods, give an overview of my research participants, and explain why the approach I used yielded a productive outcome. An ethnography with its deep depiction of community life, in-depth exploration of livelihoods and perceptions, and contextualization of processes provides an ideal tool to understand and represent the actuality of the Antarctic gateway community as it presented

[35] The manufacturing sector in Ushuaia and Tierra del Fuego includes, for example, electronic household items, cell phones, and computers.

itself to me.[36] I also discuss obstacles encountered in the field and how I managed them. Finally, I cover data analysis and outline ethical considerations of my research.

In **Chapter 3** (The social profile of Ushuaia), I explore the social makeup of Ushuaia as a residential community that is heterogeneous and transitory, and in which membership is in constant flux. Nearly ninety per cent of the local population are Argentines, with approximately eleven per cent foreigners (Secretaría de Turismo 2010:6). Ushuaia's particular demographics suggest that the city's economy is both driven by and reliant upon migrant workers. The young mean age of inhabitants and the lack of a larger retirement population indicate that Ushuaia's population is an alluvial[37] population. In Chapter 3, I explore the social implications of these issues and outline the connection between economic affluence and social positioning. The representation of Patagonia by governmental institutions (i.e. in education and the media) is linked to governance issues and necessitates an Other. In this chapter, I describe how Ushuaian residents perceive themselves and the (respective) Other. I argue that Ushuaia's social heterogeneity is a consequence of the socio-economic developments that arose out of the city's historic importance as a geopolitical hub. The findings from this chapter indicate diversity within the socio-economic composition of the city as a site of different livelihoods.

As highlighted earlier in the introduction, Ushuaia's history is inextricably linked to its geographic isolation, and its touristic appeal as the end of the world stems also from its geographic remoteness. It is this geographic isolation that led to the governmental interest in the then-fledgling settlement at the turn of the 20th century, and to which Ushuaia owes its generally thriving present-day economy. As urban growth continues and plans for urban development abound, questions of how to use and shape the natural environment arise. In **Chapter 4** (Tourism, landscape, and urban development), I outline the connection between the community and its natural surroundings. I explore how residents relate to the landscape around

[36] As is well appreciated within the discipline of anthropology and explored in greater depth in Chapter 2, the nature of any ethnographic research endeavour is partiality. The product of such research is partly the product of the contingencies encountered in the field, and partly the product of the personal characteristics of the ethnographer as research instrument.

[37] This term (población alluvial), while usually used in the earth sciences to indicate sedimentary origins, is colloquially used in Ushuaia with reference to the high rotation and elevated influx of mostly economic migrants who come to town for a limited period of time only. Migrant workers spend a – sometimes significant – period of time in town, but retire to their places of origin.

them and what role landscape and the built environment plays in placemaking. I argue that different parts of the population have diverging understandings of place and conflicting place-based needs. The findings from this chapter indicate the importance of landscape for touristic development in Ushuaia, and highlight the differences in perception between different social groups.

These diverging place-based understandings are rooted in economic realities. According to the December 2011 salary scale from the Commercial Syndicate of Ushuaia (2011), monthly net wages for commerce employees range between ARG$ 6,491 and ARG$ 6,865 (around US$ 1,138 and US$ 1,204). However, for hospitality employees, the workers' union (UTHGRA) calculated a significantly lower income (UTHGRA 2012). Income ranged from ARG$ 2,991 (the lowest category that includes, for example, doormen, private and touristic transport providers, dishwashers) to ARG$ 5,493 (the highest category for management-level employees). For a four-person household, the cost of meeting the minimum food needs (canasta básica alimentaria, CBA)[38] amounted to ARG$ 1,922 in March 2012. This means that a full-time worker employed in the lowest-paying range in the tourism sector had only about ARG$ 1,000 left to cover his/her living expenses, including rent. What does this mean in a city that presents itself as an important tourist destination and strives to further increase its touristic appeal? In **Chapter 5** (Residents and tourism), I explore the significance of this apparent mismatch between goal and means. I argue that as a growing business in Ushuaia, tourism entities determine the officially sanctioned image of the city that is projected to the outside. This image foregoes the socio-economic issues faced by a growing community and disregards differing aspirations from those parts of the population that are unaffiliated with tourism (i.e. economic migrants). I argue that the placemaking aspirations of tourism stakeholders clash with the perceptions of place of some social groups in Ushuaia. In the long run, the officially sanctioned touristic vision that includes the alteration of parts of the natural and built environment could even be counterproductive for

[38] Information from the Ministry of Economics, Tierra del Fuego: "The Basic Food Basket (La Canasta Básica Alimentaria, CBA) is determined in function of the population's consumption habits, taking into account the normative kilocalories and essential protein requirements for a male adult between 30 and 59 years of age of moderate activity, for one month. The food items and quantities are selected based on information provided by the National Inquiry on Household Income and Spending" (Ministerio de Economía 16/01/2012, translated from Spanish).

tourism. Findings from this chapter indicate factors relevant to Ushuaia's touristic capacity, highlighting some community responses to both growth and tourism.

In **Chapter 6** (Informal settlements), I explore the consequences of Ushuaia's rapid population growth and the subsequent rise in demand for accommodation on the social fabric of Ushuaian society. The shortage of rental space resulted in an expansion of the city border toward the forested mountains, where informal settlements began to grow. What started out under Governor Godoy in 1895 as a carefully designed town of forty-two blocks of 80x80 metres with 20 metre-wide streets in between (Vairo 1998:70) has, through immigration and lack of municipal control, turned into a seemingly unrestrained, expansive and still-expanding city. I analyse the social profile of the informal settlements, exploring how they are perceived by city dwellers. I also link these settlements to Ushuaia's role as a touristic destination in two aspects. First, the often unstable and low-paid forms of employment that the tourism sector relies on require a flexible labour force that in reality is often unable to afford rent in officially sanctioned accommodation and, in some cases, find themselves forced to live in informal settlements on the margins of the city. Second, informal settlements are beginning to be integrated into alternative kinds of tourisms, enhancing visitors' understandings of Ushuaia as a developing, heterogeneous destination. The findings from this chapter build up on the previous discussion of landscape, community cohesion, and touristic potential. I argue that informal settlements, another consequence of Ushuaia's geopolitical importance, address three conflicting local topics. First, they draw attention to the conflicting perspective of parts of the Ushuaian society that holds that landscape must remain 'untouched', both for personal and touristic consumption. This approach to the natural environment is, ironically, not mirrored in some of the officially sanctioned projects aimed at increasing the local touristic infrastructure. Second, informal settlements reflect and challenge the view of parts of the already established population that argue that the city population limits have been reached and exceeded. Third, parts of the established population use informal settlements as scapegoats for the perceived loss of community spirit and community solidarity that accompanies the population growth. Using a case study of a local informal settlement, I argue that not in all cases do informal settlements damage Ushuaia's touristic value or potential. While they polarise Ushuaian society, informal settlements have the potential to add value and values to both community and tourism.

Taking into account the circumstances outlined in the previous chapters, I look at how the social cohesion of particular sectors of the city's labouring population, geographic

positioning, and touristic ethos influence Ushuaia's function as a gateway port. To do so, I first explore the way residents relate to Antarctica and what factors shape the Antarctic spirit in Ushuaia in **Chapter 7** (Residents and Antarctica). Geographic origin and community attachment play a central role in the forming of a mindset that is either conducive or hindering to the city's identification as an Antarctic gateway port. I argue that Antarctica is a topic that does not interest or affect parts of the population. This is partly because dealing with the consequences of the socio-economic disorder in Ushuaia takes precedence in many residents' lives. A lack of access to extensive Antarctica-relevant education in the past and present as well as a perception of personal disconnection to Antarctica contribute to this Antarctic apathy. I argue that the deprioritizing of Antarctica both among low-income groups of the population and parts of the mid- and higher levels of city administration is due to the migratory backgrounds of many residents, and can therefore be traced back to the economic incentives that were part of the geopolitical strategies of the past. The findings of this chapter will have to be understood as a base for the developments discussed in the following chapter.

Remote from the national centre of governance and Antarctica-related decision-making, Ushuaia holds an important function as an international Antarctic gateway port. In **Chapter 8** (Recent developments in Ushuaia's function as a gateway port), I outline how local Antarctic institutions function to increase the community's Antarctic orientation and potential through changes in Antarctica-related infrastructure, and present the responses of parts of the community to these plans. Building up on findings from Chapter 7 that indicate mixed responses and dispositions regarding Antarctica among the population, I look at how different groups of residents view the proposed Antarctic tourism-related developments, i.e. the construction of an Antarctic theme park. By looking at the spontaneous and unprecedented application of the Gaucho Rivero Act, a local political incident that happened in February 2012 and had international repercussions, I uncover a schism between the official positioning of Ushuaia as an Antarctica-minded community and actual developments. I argue that Ushuaia's function as a gateway port is used by (Antarctic) tourism stakeholders as a soft power in international Antarctic positioning. However, attempts to streamline these ambitions with the preferences and needs of the heterogeneous local population are contested. Clashes and conflicts around placemaking strategies and landscape alterations driven by municipal policies and aspirations testify to this. Together with other factors such as port administration and political ambiguity, they form stumbling blocks in the smooth operating of Ushuaia as an Antarctic gateway port.

The findings from this chapter indicate a schism in Ushuaian society's disposition toward Antarctic tourism and allow speculations about future developments.

In my final chapter, **Chapter 9** (Conclusion), I summarize my findings and integrate them in the placemaking and place attachment literature. In regard to the theoretical approaches that support my thesis, I have shown that meanings attached to place in Ushuaia are informed by Self (personal history, ambitions, needs), Others (distinctions between local social groups that are also based on territorial grounds), and the Environment (the values attached to landscape and the differing ambitions for the use of landscape). Following the notion that a place is not an isolated and static entity, but is rather dynamically embedded within social networks and a historical continuity, I have situated my Ushuaian ethnography within a wider political, historic, and socio-economic context. By this point, an analysis attentive to the lived experiences of inhabitants is made evident regarding the challenges of urban growth and development that face Ushuaia. In research unique for its application of an ethnographic perspective, I have outlined the tensions between inhabitants' daily lives as labourers in the Ushuaian economy, and the imperatives to which Antarctic tourism, city planning, and governance are subject. I have illustrated the (as of the time of my fieldwork) unsuccessful bridging between official city alignment and the various differing mindsets and expectations of Ushuaian residents.

## Conclusion

Ushuaia is still growing. It is growing because the Argentine government deems Patagonia of geopolitical importance as a strategic tool in territorial struggles with Chile, and views Ushuaia, Patagonia's provincial capital, also in relation to the Argentine Antarctic claim. To encourage migration south, the Argentine government implemented business incentives in Patagonia in the 1950s, with the most successful one, Law 19.640, established in the 1970s. As a consequence of this and the city's remote location in a stark natural environment, Ushuaia attracts different groups of people: administrative personnel for subsidised government jobs, workers for positions in the subsidised factories, amenity migrants who seek out a slower-paced lifestyle in a more natural setting, and tourists who enjoy the natural environment or use the city as a stepping stone to Antarctica.

Forty-odd years after the government's most successful attempt to populate Patagonia, Ushuaia is struggling to accommodate the ongoing influx of people. Consequences of the growth, i.e. informal settlements and an overwhelmed health and town system, polarise the

community into newcomers and established residents. Conflicting views of place collide over the question of whether Ushuaia should continue to be urbanised and serve a pronouncedly industrial purpose, or retain a focus on tourism and the natural environment. Removed from or unaffected by the geopolitical aspirations that led to Ushuaia's population growth, residents have differing levels of economic and socio-cultural affiliation to and interest in Antarctica. Similarly, Ushuaia's touristic assets, i.e. the landscape and natural environment, are used and appreciated differently by different social groups. Subsequently, there exists a schism between Ushuaia's touristic representation and Antarctic alignment and the needs and interests held by different parts of the population.

In my thesis, I explore the diverging place-based notions and aspirations of different social groups amongst Ushuaia's residents. By identifying the various stakeholders' interests in relation to Antarctica and to tourism, I construct an ethnographic account of Ushuaia as an Antarctic gateway city that takes into account the lived reality of its residents. The example of Ushuaia shows one way in which cities are integrated within larger scales of economic and political processes, and illustrates the ways in which residents, including workers operating on various levels of tourism employment, diverge from or resist the governance-related touristic image of the city.

# 2 Methodology

This study is a descriptive and analytic study which is intended to provide a clearer understanding of life in a gateway port. As such, my principle objective is to assess residents' perceptions and experiences and contrast them against recent urban and touristic plans and developments. To do so, I employ an ethnographic approach. I aim to produce a "thick description" (Geertz 2003[1973]) of the gateway community by conducting a micro-analysis that has a case-study (i.e. Ushuaia) as its base (Sluka and Robben 2007:4).

As a methodology, ethnography is dependent upon particular epistemological convictions that have evolved within the discourses of socio-cultural anthropology. Because of the study objective – capturing participants' subjective understandings of life in gateway city – the most fitting paradigm for this study is the constructivist paradigm (Guba and Lincoln 1989; Coleman et al. 1997). Researchers employing this paradigm operate on the belief that there are multiple frameworks for any one situation, giving equal weight to the individual ways of seeing and interpreting occurrences. The ontology that underlies the constructivist paradigm is post-positivist and manifests in a relativist standpoint: There is no one fixed, rigid reality out there that everyone shares in. Social reality is understood as a multitude of constructed subjective-objective realities (Guba 1990; Lincoln et al. 2011). My epistemology is subjectivist, as the end product of the research is a negotiated account of my research participants' perceptions of their living environment and shared issues that face the residents of the gateway port. The definition of what is real and valid is being negotiated through communication between fieldworker and research participants (Lamnek 2007:22). As the perspective informs the determination of social reality, it is the goal of qualitative research to situate and portray the structures of meaning that the research participants adhere to (Lamnek 2007:547).

Accordingly, the methodology employed in this research is hermeneutic and dialectic in nature, as it has the aim of capturing and modulating the perceptions and understandings of individual research participants (cf. Haase 2008:16). Qualitative interviewing and participant observation are the ideal methods for capturing these individual constructions and will be further explored in this chapter.

Ethnographers positions themselves in proximity to people's social lives in order to develop insights into and record data about their experiences, worldviews, cultural practices, the

form, character, and frequency of interpersonal interactions, and the social institutions that configure social life in particular contexts. The holistic range of an ethnography is of particular notice: Specific perspectives, events, and actions are presented in the entirety of their socio-cultural context and network; singular occurrences and individual lives cannot be understood but as part of the networks and the whole of the politico-historical, socio-cultural contexts they are woven into. This knowledge informs the ethnographic approach to both the practicalities of research and the analysis and representation of the research data.

I was inspired by principles outlined in Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss 1968), which is an inductive mode of analysis that moves from specific observations about social processes and phenomena to the development of a general theory. Ethnographic fieldwork entails observing research participants in everyday life and participating in everyday work and play. Grounded Theory is based on everyday experiences and draws from symbolic interactionism: Communications and actions express meaning, which is dynamic and shared by group members. In my fieldwork, I chose those social groups for closer inspection that I thought representative of the tourism-related scenarios that I encountered in Ushuaia: politicians, residents of informal settlements, employees at institutions connected with Antarctica, as well as tourism, the hospitality sector, and the social sector. Following Grounded Theory guidelines, I collected data from as many perspectives as possible until saturation was reached, which happened when no new information was found (Morse 1995). Unlike in Grounded Theory, where data is coded in the first step towards concept and theory building, I did not code my data as such, as much of it stems from informal conversations, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation, none of which lends itself to the practice of formal coding (but compare Bernard 2006:387ff). In a later section of this chapter, I describe how, instead, I made use of my fieldnotes and other data by categorising and preparing them for analysis.

In the following sections of this chapter, I introduce the concept of ethnographic fieldwork, present and discuss the methods used for gathering, analysing, and storing information, outline the steps undertaken to obtain ethical clearance for my research, and describe difficulties encountered during fieldwork.

## Antecedents: Theoretical ideas about fieldwork

> Fieldwork is a profoundly humbling experience, and its effects persist. Poring over our fieldnotes, there is plenty of time to discover crucial questions that we failed to ask, and remember kindnesses that can never be repaid. These are the preliminaries to writing ethnography.
>
> (Metcalf 2002:11)

In theory, the endeavour of fieldwork – the centrepiece of socio-cultural anthropological science – is clear-cut: By way of immersing him- or herself into the chosen community, the fieldworker seeks to gain a deep understanding of its social and cultural intricacies. W.H.R. Rivers, the forefather of fieldwork, argued for in-depth research in small-scale isolated communities and influenced Malinowski into developing his method of participant observation (Kuklick 2011:17f). Traditionally, the fieldworker lives in the studied culture for a period of at least one year, participating in daily life and observing people's behaviour and the community's way of life. An intimate and detailed study of the community and its members ideally leads to an understanding of processes and behaviours that matches the research participants' understanding.

In practice, of course, things are much less straightforward. The crisis of representation in the 1980s (Marcus and Fischer 1986) moved the focus of anthropological fieldwork away from a positivist understanding of the gathered data and toward a reflexive, interpretive approach. It was no longer uncritically assumed that the anthropologist objectively collects, analyses and relays information. Instead, the data observed and generated in anthropological fieldwork came to be seen as dependent on and altered by the observer. Whereas Malinowski operated on the belief that "the field of enquiry was wholly external to himself" (Young 1979:11), in the postmodern age of anthropology, fieldwork and its results are understood as deeply personal entities, leading anthropologists to the realization that "[t]here are as many perspectives as there are anthropologists" (Peacock 1986:viii). Furthermore, from the 1960s on, the field of anthropological research has opened up to include urban areas and large, complex societies: Long gone are the days when fieldwork was limited to the traditional isolated small-scale societies in far-away, seemingly exotic countries and the fieldworker was encouraged to "know every member of the community personally" (Rivers 1913 in Kuper 1973:20). Now, cultures are understood to be "increasingly in circulation" (Marcus 1998:5), encouraging and necessitating multi-sited field research (Marcus 2011). New research fields such as professional and institutional ethnography (Campbell and Gregor 2004; DeVault 2006; Luhrmann 2000; Nader

1972; Smith 2006) that examine translocal work processes, the social relations, and the distribution of power that structure people's work and everyday lives, developed as a result. While there are challenges and new methodological issues to be confronted in urban ethnography (Marcus 1998; Pardo and Prato 2012), other factors remain the same: In response to the contingencies of fieldwork, the research activity needs to be flexible and continuously able to adapt to the changing field. In order to gather deep data and being accepted as an ethnographic researcher in foreign social networks, informal research methods, the building of rapport and trust between researcher and research participants, and a degree of social and cultural assimilation are essential.

The presented research falls within the category of urban anthropology. In the following, I explore the above-mentioned points of ethnographic authority and reflexivity in more depth and comment on their significance for my own fieldwork in Argentina and Chile.

**Ethnographic authority and reflexivity**

Ethnographic texts cannot be understood without identifying and acknowledging the author in the portrayed setting (see Buckley 1994), as it is impossible for a social scientist to be a detached, "completely objective measuring device" (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002:31). From the 1970s on, participant observation turned into the "observation of participation" (Tedlock 1991:78), of which reflexivity became an essential component. Reflexivity builds up on the knowledge that a "vulnerable observer" (Behar 1996) is present behind the text, and encourages readers to take into consideration that all the presented information has been influenced and interpreted by the researcher's personal characteristics, prejudices, and feelings (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002:31).

Similarly, twentieth century philosophical hermeneutics introduced the idea that what a text renders are not the meanings the author attempts to communicate, but rather the meanings the reader is able to draw from it – which, in turn, depends on the reader's prior knowledge and experience (see Hammersley and Atkinson 2007[1983]:12). Thus, objectivity should be understood as "a continuum of closeness to an accurate description and understanding of observable phenomena" (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002:94) instead of a detached description of an infallible, one-size-fits-all reality.

A researcher must be both empathetic and distanced to the research participants and their life-world; subjectively absorbing and then neutrally translating this subjective knowledge into Western categories of understanding (Tambiah 1990:111). In an ethnography, a social world is constructed through the ethnographer's interpretation of what he or she sees (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007[1983]:11). Even though the observation is necessarily selective, and the interpretation inseparable from the observer, the collected and constructed data can still adequately represent the social phenomenon in question (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007[1983]:16).

## Fieldwork

My fieldwork in Patagonia took place from August 2011 to August 2012. I employed a speculative research approach, made in full knowledge that the exigencies of the field might force me to adapt my modus operandi. Before going into the field, in the process of designing a fieldwork layout for my research proposal, I had planned to find and follow ten research participants in total – five in Ushuaia, Argentina, where I had originally envisaged staying for six months, and five in Punta Arenas, Chile, where I had also planned to live for six months. I had imagined staying with each participant for a month, moving into a spare room in their house, and interviewing and observing them and their activities in order to grasp an understanding of life in gateway communities. In reality, of course, I soon adjusted my plans – not only because having a house, let alone a spare room in Ushuaia proved to be almost utopian, especially for those research participants who were employed in the lower-paying sections of hospitality work.

Similarly, I had planned to spend equal amounts of time in Ushuaia and Punta Arenas. Upon arrival in Ushuaia, Argentina, I soon recognized the complexity of the scenario to be investigated there, particularly with the Falklands/Malvinas anniversary processes unfolding, the Gaucho Rivero Act developments[39], and my discovery of the role of illegal settlements in understanding stratification and exclusion in a city that attracts migrants. I reappraised my plan for comparative fieldwork and decided to focus on Ushuaia. I changed my itinerary to allow a

[39] The Gaucho Rivero Act refers to a set of events connected to the ongoing sovereignty conflicts surrounding the Falklands/Malvinas issue. In the occurrences in February 2012, tourism is implicated in political protests. I explain and discuss these developments in depth in Chapter 8.

visit to Punta Arenas over a two-month period, with the intention of using the data generated there as a supplement to my ethnographic assessment of Ushuaia.

**Table 2.1** Summary timeline of the data collection

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | **Preparatory Stage:** Obtaining HEC approval |
| **August 2011** | Buenos Aires, ARG; Ushuaia, ARG | **Fieldwork/ Data collection:** Begin ethnographic observations. Data collection, fieldnotes, interviews and informal conversations. |
| **September - October 2011** | Ushuaia, ARG | Ongoing ethnographic observations, data collection, fieldnotes, photographs, interviews and informal conversations. |
| **November 2011** | Ushuaia, ARG | Work-exchange[40] in Hostel 1. Ongoing ethnographic observations, data collection, fieldnotes, photographs, interviews and informal conversations. |
| **December 2011** | Ushuaia, ARG | Work-exchange in B&B. Ongoing ethnographic observations, data collection, fieldnotes, photographs, interviews and informal conversations. |
| **January 2012** | Ushuaia, ARG | Work-exchange in B&B. Casual work at touristic horseback riding business. Ongoing ethnographic observations, data collection, fieldnotes, photographs, interviews and informal conversations. |
| **February 2012** | Ushuaia, ARG | Work-exchange in B&B; occasional work in Hostel 2. Ongoing ethnographic observations, data collection, fieldnotes, photographs, interviews and informal conversations. |
| **March 2012** | Ushuaia, ARG | Work-exchange in B&B. Ongoing ethnographic observations, data collection, fieldnotes, photographs, interviews and informal conversations. |
| **April 2012** | Ushuaia, ARG | Work-exchange in Hostel 3. Ongoing ethnographic observations, data collection, fieldnotes, photographs, interviews and informal conversations. |

[40] The term work-exchange describes an arrangement of exchanging work for accommodation without involving money.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **May 2012** | Ushuaia, ARG;<br>Punta Arenas, CL | (ARG) Work-exchange in Hostel 3. Ongoing ethnographic observations, data collection, fieldnotes, photographs, interviews and informal conversations.<br>(CL) Work-exchange in Hostel 4. Begin ethnographic observations, data collection, fieldnotes, photographs, interviews and informal conversations. |
| **June 2012** | Punta Arenas, CL | Work-exchange in Hostel 4. Ongoing ethnographic observations, data collection, fieldnotes, photographs, interviews and informal conversations. |
| **July 2012** | Punta Arenas, CL;<br>Ushuaia, ARG;<br>Santiago de Chile, CL | (CL) Work-exchange in Hostel 4. Ongoing ethnographic observations, data collection, fieldnotes, photographs, interviews and informal conversations.<br>(ARG) Finalizing interviews, ethnographic observations, data collection, fieldnotes, and photographs. Informal conversations.<br>(CL) Literature research, informal conversations. |
| **August 2012** | Leaving research site | |

I left Ushuaia in late May and stayed in Punta Arenas until late July. In retrospect, a short stay in Punta Arenas in the touristic high season (November through March) would have provided more balanced comparative insights into the Chilean gateway community. I encountered Punta Arenas only in the tranquil, almost tourist-free, low season. This differs radically from the Punta Arenas one experiences during the summer months, according to my Chilean research participants. Ushuaia, which I experienced in both high and low season, displays considerable touristic activity even in its so-called low season.

**Ethnographic Methods**

Participant observation in urban anthropology possesses distinctive characteristics which I discuss in the following section. I describe the interview methods I employed, and outline the implications my liminal status as a researcher entailed.

Participant Observation

One of the aims of anthropological fieldwork is to learn the tacit aspects of a culture, those very traits of a living environment that cannot be described or articulated but only understood when

experienced directly (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002:1), the unquestioned truths and structures of the mind that inform and guide people's values, dispositions, and actions (see Bourdieu 1977). This understanding comes with a certain enculturation, which in turn occurs only after prolonged periods of living in the observed community and partaking in everyday life, spending work and leisure time in the community, and conversing, while consciously observing and recording the observed (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002:4). In my own fieldwork, however, I was often under the impression that the 'direct' data gathered from interviews would outweigh the 'indirect' data gathered from my observations during participant observation. This is likely to be connected to the intricacies of doing urban anthropology, as Gmelch and Gmelch (2009) observed in a comparative analysis of rural and urban student fieldworkers. Those students working in the urban environment tended to rely more on formal interviews as their principal method of data collection as distances and degrees of social independence were greater, while those stationed in the socially and geographically closer-knit rural environments tended to do more participant observation. Ushuaia, while being a mid-sized community with still strongly felt closely-knit beginnings, also very much operated as a modern, individualistic, and busy place far removed from the traditional and inclusive small-scale communities that dominated anthropology's beginnings.

However, the insights gained from the lived experience, the accumulating knowledge and the developing understanding of my host community's inner workings were vital results of participant observation. They equipped me to ask the right questions, recognize the characteristics of local discourses, and make sense of what people said or did. Certain aspects of participant observation during my fieldwork were conducive to collecting data that would otherwise not have been accessible to me. Working in exchange for accommodation in hostels throughout most of my stay in Ushuaia proved to be indispensable when it came to gathering insight into the hospitality sector. By doing the same work as my local colleagues, I was able to get "close to them while they are responding to what life does to them" (Goffman 1989[1974]:125). By changing the role I held in the eyes of the people I was trying to get closer to and positioning myself closer to their own roles, the degree of informational confidentiality they were willing to offer me increased. During the first week of my position as a receptionist assistant in one of the hostels, for instance, I noticed that my colleagues were avoiding me. Some were doing so in a more hostile, stand-offish manner than others, but the general impression of being deliberately cut out was noticeable to me. After a few days, one of the employees, Esmeralda, a woman in her mid-twenties, bluntly asked me: "So what does [the

owner] pay you?" When I replied that I was not being paid anything and explained my work-exchange deal that facilitated my role as a researcher, the atmosphere between us instantly changed. Instead of treating me with an icy politeness, as had been the case leading up to this conversation, she began to relate to me and even expressed sympathy for me ("What? He does not pay you?").

It turned out that Esmeralda had been opposed to the thought that "another foreigner" had been given a job at the hostel which could have been filled by an Argentine. The two other employees at reception were of Italian origin. I later explained to myself the fact that they did not socialize with me, either, with the second notion that accompanied Esmeralda's previous resentments against me: I had been given a job that the existing employees – sometimes all three were crowded behind the counter – were more than capable to perform by themselves. The idea that yet another foreigner be employed to assist with already scarce tasks must have seemed both threatening and insulting to them. In the eyes of the more permanent staff, my discussion with Esmeralda changed my status of privileged and unwanted intruder to one of an equally underpaid, and thus trustworthy, peer. Esmeralda rapidly began befriending me, including me in conversation with the cleaning staff (who had been acting distant before), asking me for input on the music selection for the hostel lounge, and sharing a table during lunch breaks. Esmeralda began confiding in me about her troubles and disagreements with her superiors. Consequently, in her perception, I was no longer aligned with management: I had reached a stage where I was able "to see that [the research participants are] aligned against some others that are around" (Goffman 1989[1974]:129).

In the process of undertaking participant observation, I held various roles. In my work as a receptionist and cleaner in the first hostel I work-exchanged at, I often functioned as a 'hybrid': while I was not a tourist as I was staying long-term in Ushuaia and held a job in a local establishment, I was not perceived as "one of them" (the locals) by the tourists I met. I spoke fluent English, was of Western origin, and was not bound by local cultural and social norms to the degree that South American residents were. More importantly, I did not perceivably hold a vested interest in making profit off the tourists, unlike the local hostel workers did through commission arrangements and the sale of rooms. From the local perception, I was not "one of them" (the tourists) either as I spoke fluent Spanish, stayed long-term, and was unlikely to disappoint, haggle, or trick the employees and the owner when it came to staying at the hostel. This special position facilitated confidential interactions from both sides: tourists confided in me their disappointments or frustrations about the service they received at the hostel and in the

city, and the owner and other employees confided in me their frustrations and perceptions about the visitors. My two-pronged status was immensely beneficial to the collection of data from both sides – a privilege I would not have been able to obtain had it not been for the role of participant-observer that I held throughout my stay in Ushuaia.

Semi-structured interviews

In the course of my fieldwork, I interviewed a wide range of people, including hospitality workers from different working levels; private and governmental Antarctic tourism workers; employees and owners of Ushuaian land-based tourism agencies; government employees (urban planning; municipality); politicians; tourists; recent migrants to Ushuaia and members of traditional local families; port agents and harbour employees; members of the Marine; and police and social workers.

**Table 2.2** Research participants in Ushuaia, Argentina

| Category | Pseudonym | Age | Nationality | Role | Date of first interview[41] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Hospitality (Accommodation)** | Flor | 30s | Argentine (Formosa) | Cleaner at hostel | 29/03/2012 |
| | Amadeo | 30s | Argentine (TDF) | Receptionist at B&B | 02/12/2011 |
| | Esmeralda | 20s | Argentine (TDF) | Receptionist at hostel | 28/03/2012 |
| | Alonso | 20s | Argentine (Formosa) | Night guard at hostel | *20/12/2011 |
| | Domenico | 30s | Argentine (Bs.As.CF) | Hostel co-owner | November 2011 |
| **Tourism** | Eduardo | 30s | Argentine (Patagonia) | Owner of adventure business | *01/12/2011 |
| | Alicia | 30s | Argentine | Wife of owner of touristic bar | *11/01/2012 |

[41] Dates marked with an asterisk indicate that research participants were formally interviewed and voice-recorded more than once.

| Category | Pseudonym | Age | Nationality | Role | Date of first interview[41] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Tourism**<br><br>**(Institutions, guides, businesses)**<br><br>**[continued]** | Mora | 30s | Argentine (Patagonia) | Free-lance and contract guide | *07/11/2011 |
| | Humberto | 30s | Chilean | Free-lance guide | 02/09/2011 |
| | Pancho | 20s | Argentine | "Prisoner" for tourists | 06/03/2012 |
| | Félix | 20s | Argentine (Mendoza) | Contract guide | *15/03/2012 |
| | Daniel Leguizamón | 50s | Argentine | Secretary of Tourism at the municipality | *10/02/2012 |
| | Maya | 20s | Argentine | InFueTur tourist attention | 06/03/2012 |
| | Isabel | 40s | Argentine | Hospitality and Tourism Workers' Union | 05/03/2012 |
| | Patricio | 60s | Argentine | Stand owner at Artesanal Fair | 26/06/2012 |
| | Guadalupe | (40s)[42] | Argentine | Touristic Planning at InFueTur | 08/03/2012 |
| | Julio Lovece | 60s | Argentine | Ex-secretary of Tourism | *29/02/2012 |
| | Francisco | 40s | Argentine (Bs.As. province) | Owner of horseback riding tourism business | 24/01/2012 |
| **Antarctica**<br><br>**(institutions, tourism)** | Johanna | (50s) | European | Expedition leader | 06/12/2011 |
| | Pilar | (40s) | Argentine | Antarctic Office | 13/09/2011 |
| | Luz | (40s) | Argentine | Antarctic logistics | 10/02/2012 |
| | Edgardo | (40s) | Argentine | Antarctic logistics | 06/03/2012 |
| | Antonio | 50s | Argentine | Captain of expedition ship | 16/03/2012 |

[42] Numbers in parentheses indicate a guess at the age of research participants.

| Category | Pseudonym | Age | Nationality | Role | Date of first interview[41] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Antarctica [continued]** | Ricarda | 20s | Argentine | Waitress on expedition ship | 26/01/2012 |
| | Clementina | 20s | Argentine | Waitress on expedition ship | 29/01/2012 |
| | Anita | 20s | Argentine | Waitress on cruise ship | 08/02/2012 |
| | Louie | 20s | Filipino | Waiter on cruise ship | 09/03/2012 |
| | Juan Pablo | 30s | Argentine | Pastry chef on cruise ship | 05/03/2012 |
| | Tim | 20s | Filipino | Chef on cruise ship | 09/03/2012 |
| | Eloy | 30s | US-American | Zodiac[43] driver | *10/01/2012 |
| | Victor | 60s | Chilean | Zodiac driver | 11/11/2011 |
| | [Group of 4 men] | 30-50s | US-American, Australian, Canadian | Expedition leaders, logistics managers, lecturers on expedition ship | 07/03/2012 |
| | Iván | 30s | Argentine (Córdoba) | Kitchen hand on cruise ship | 02/02/2012 |
| | Joaquín | 30s | Argentine | Baker on expedition ship | 23/04/2012 |
| | Olivia | 30s | Argentine (TDF) | Lecturer on expedition ship, Zodiac driver | *10/11/2011 |
| | Aracelia | 30s | Argentine | Chef on expedition ship | *17/12/2011 |
| | Lukas | 30s | German | Antarctic tourist | 01/03/2012 |
| | Simon | 30s | Israeli | Antarctic tourist | *20/03/2012 |
| | James | 20s | US-American | Antarctic tourist | *20/03/2012 |

[43] A Zodiac is an inflatable dinghy powered by an outboard motor. Zodiacs are used to transport passengers from the main vessel to the shore and back in places where there are no pier structures or the water depth is insufficient for the main vessel to pass.

| Category | Pseudonym | Age | Nationality | Role | Date of first interview[41] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Antarctica [continued]** | Paul | 30s | Swiss | Antarctic tourist | 13/12/2011 |
| | Marco | 20s | Australian | Antarctic tourist | 01/03/2012 |
| **Informal settlers** | Catalina | 30s | Argentine (Patagonia) | Gym teacher, community worker | 11/07/2012 |
| | Pablo | 40s | Argentine (Patagonia) | Employed at airport | November 2011 |
| **Urban planning** | Jaime | (50s) | Argentine | Urban Development official | 19/03/2012 |
| | Nicolás | (30s) | Argentine | Employee at Secretary of Urban Development | 11/04/2012 |
| | Hernan | (40s) | Argentine | Management (gov.) official, urban planning | 14/02/2012 |
| | Esteban | 30s | Argentine | Lawyer at the municipality | 09/12/2012 |
| **Port management** | Segundo | 30s | Argentine | Maritime agent | 15/03/2012 |
| | Josué | 50s | Hungarian | Maritime agent | 01/03/2012 |
| | Natalia | 30s | Argentine (Mendoza) | Port official | 13/07/2012 |
| | Roberto | 50s | Argentine | Port official | 12/03/2012 |
| **Migrants** | Beto | 20s | Argentine (Bs.As. province) | Welder | 01/12/2011 |
| | Ulises | 20s | Argentine (Bs.As.CF) | Electrician | *November 2011 |
| | Mauricio | 40s | Argentine (North) | Window washer | 22/11/2011 |
| | Francisca | 30s | Argentine | Gov.employee (International relations) | 09/01/2012 |

| Category | Pseudonym | Age | Nationality | Role | Date of first interview[41] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| City services | Rodrigo | 40s | Argentine | Police, Chief Officer | 30/03/2012 |
| | Guillermo | 60s | Argentine | Politician, provincial level | 09/02/2012 |
| | Vicente | 50s | Argentine (North) | Social Work unit | *12/12/2011 |
| Other | Mateo | 70s | Argentine (TDF) | Resident, traditional family | 27/12/2012 |
| | Amalia | 70s | Argentine (TDF) | Resident, traditional family | 13/07/2012 |
| | Julina | 60s | Argentine (TDF) | Resident, traditional family | 14/12/2011 |
| | Anselmo | 40s | Argentine | Navy | 25/01/2012 |

In Punta Arenas, I interviewed Antarctic tourism workers from both the private and the governmental sector; mid-level harbour workers; tourism employees from the municipality, and lower and mid-level private tourism workers as well as local university lecturers.

**Table 2.3** Research participants in Punta Arenas, Chile

| Category | Pseudonym | Age | Nationality | Occupation | Date of interview |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tourism | Valencia & Angélica | 30s | Chilean | Tourist information office | 22/05/2012 |
| | Hidalgo | 20s | Chilean | Culture Institute; free-lance tourism guide | 25/05/2012 |
| | Juan | 40s | Chilean | Builder of Nao Victoria | 28/05/2012 |
| Antarctica | Jacinta | 20s | Chilean | DAP | 24/05/2012 |
| | Fabio | 60s | Chilean | DAP, expedition leader, adventurer | 26/06/2012 |

| Category | Pseudonym | Age | Nationality | Occupation | Date of interview |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Antarctica [continued]** | Armando | 40s | Chilean | INACH official | 29/05/2012 |
| | Carlos | 40s | Chilean | DAP | 05/07/2012 |
| | Aurelia | 20s | Chilean | Waitress on cruise ship | 27/06/2012 |
| | Ernesto | 20s | Venezuelan | Technician on expedition ship | 17/06/2012 |
| | Tadeo | 30s | Peruvian | Tour guide on DAP flight | 05/07/2012 |
| | Sara | 40s | Chilean | INACH official | 24/05/2012 |
| **Other** | Cornelio | 50s | Chilean | Employee, Community Development | 14/06/2012 |
| | Luis | 40s | Chilean | Historian | 03/07/2012 |
| | Eugenio | 50s | Chilean | Economist | 14/06/2012 |
| | Teodor | 30s | Chilean | Port Agency, operations | 30/05/2012 |

Research participants were mostly found using snowball sampling[44]. In the attempt to cognitively grasp the vastness that is so often mentioned in connection with Patagonia and to get a feel for the geographic isolation of Tierra del Fuego, I took the bus from Buenos Aires to Ushuaia at the beginning of my fieldwork. After roughly 1,500 km and 26 hours on the bus, I was glad to make a day-long stop half-way through in Comodoro Rivadavia, where I visited the university and spoke to lecturers from several departments. I asked them for any possible connections down in Ushuaia that might be of relevance to me. This attempt yielded a good handful of names, including lecturers at Ushuaia's university (Universidad San Juan de Bosco), employees at CADIC (Centro Austral de Investigaciones Científicas), and municipality workers. In the initial stages of fieldwork in Ushuaia, I would then use my recently-made Rivadavian contacts

[44] Snowball sampling describes the accessing of research participants through an initial participant who then names other potential participants.

to get in touch with the people recommended to me as knowledgeable in my field of interest. Usually, in these first interviews, I would ask my research participants for other contacts they thought would be useful for me to speak to. This approach worked very well, especially since Ushuaia is a compact, relatively small city whose institutions are well-connected and well-informed about life in the city. In some instances, having a referral or even a phone call made on my behalf from a politician helped me gain access to other government employees that I had previously spent weeks unsuccessfully trying to get a hold of. The research participants I was able to contact in this way were useful when it came to collecting factual data about my research topic.

I had to use other channels to contact research participants who were not easily accessible as they were working in low-waged positions or did not occupy offices or desks that I could report to. I count into this category migrants, illegal settlers, hospitality workers such as cleaners or room maids, ship workers, and tourists. My work at several hostels helped with accessing tourists. The fact that I performed the same or comparable unskilled tasks (like cleaning, attending to guests, etc.) as other workers in the hostel made access to my co-workers easier, especially to those co-workers who had come from economically weak regions in Northern Argentina.

In other cases, I used opportunistic sampling[45] to find research participants - coincidental encounters in the street and the generally very friendly and open nature of Argentines formed connections that would later on provide interview opportunities. This was true especially in the case of people living in illegal settlements, who are said to be more cautious and closed-off about inviting outsiders up into their communities and sharing perceptions and insights with them.

These interviews were voice-recorded, then transcribed verbatim, and upon return to Christchurch, categorized and filed in databases. The average length of the interviews was 45 minutes, with some as short as 20 minutes but only very few exceeding 90 minutes. When talking to professionals with their own offices, we would usually meet there. I interviewed other research participants in public spaces (e.g. cafés) or in safe, private spaces (e.g. where I lived, or

[45] Opportunistic sampling entails the making of sampling decisions by the researcher during data collection. It is based on the researcher's increasing knowledge and growing social network in the field.

in their home). Critical criteria for this were matters of convenience for my research participants and appropriate surroundings (i.e., public spaces had to be reasonably quiet and intimate so as to create a comfortable atmosphere without being overheard). I interviewed some people multiple times throughout my stay, following up on their progress and asking clarifying questions. Friendships were created in a handful of cases, which made the interviewing more comfortable and relaxed and sometimes yielded richer data. In other cases, especially in those where I interviewed politicians, the interviews were more halting and shallow, as there was time pressure on the research participant's side, and a more apparent ignorance on my part of the intricacies of political events and processes. However, generally, I was made to feel very comfortable by my research participants who gave me lots of time and effort and showed interest in the topic and my work.

My interviews were semi-structured, allowing me the flexibility to adapt or add questions during the interview. Unlike the structured interview that employs a more rigorous set of questions and is used for quantitative research, the semi-structured interview form lends itself to qualitative research that seeks to elicit data which is grounded in the research participant's experience and perception (Galletta 2013). For a structured interview or a survey, a representative sample is needed, which I was not able to access in my fieldwork.

I used a voice-recording device to tape my interviews so that it would later on be easier to obtain full, quotable statements from my research participants. Since Spanish is my third language and I am a fluent but far from flawless speaker of the language, recording and then reading my interviews after transcription helped me fully understand what was being said. After some trial and error, my recorder of choice was an Olympic WS600S.

Other sources of data

In late August, I started a newspaper archive using three different newspapers that were available in Ushuaia and that reported on local issues and, to a lesser extent, on national issues. They were El Diario del Fin del Mundo (a local paper edited and printed in Ushuaia), Tiempo Fueguino (reporting on regional topics, edited and printed in Río Grande), and La Prensa (a free, daily local paper). I sometimes used articles from El Clarín (a national newspaper and magazine that included a localized edition) to supplement my archive. While I did my best to get hold of newspaper copies every day, sometimes this would not work and I would miss a couple of days. I am confident I managed to capture a fairly complete coverage of events portrayed in the papers

over the course of almost a year. While I started out looking exclusively for articles to do with Antarctica and tourism, I soon extended my search to other categories that I realized would be of interest as they concerned community life and processes in the gateway port. I collected clippings in numerous categories, among those anything to do with the implications of ongoing urbanisation. Here, I would take into consideration any news and opinions around the water crisis, locally occurring crime, illegal settlements and real estate, waste management, and the changing environment. I also collected news clippings related to the local economy, which included information on salaries, income, and consumption (particularly regarding the recently built shopping mall), and the local factories and industry. I also paid attention to the regular features in all of the newspapers I consulted that included historical reproductions of life in the city, and collected articles on the Malvinas conflict including developments around the Gaucho Rivero Act.

During my time in Punta Arenas, I also worked on a newspaper archive, compiling articles from the two main newspapers: El Pingüino (a local newspaper) and La Prensa Austral (a regional paper). I collected clippings from the following categories: environment and history; poverty and minimum wage; Antarctica; Magallanes[46] economy; crime; Pinochet[47]; city history; tourism; and Chile and Argentina (relations)[48]. Besides concentrating on newspapers as a source of information, in both Ushuaia and Punta Arenas I additionally collected literature (books, articles, magazines) and any objects (stickers, maps, promotional images, some souvenir items) related to Antarctica and city or regional promotion that I found to be potentially relevant.

I also used the process of writing ethnographic fieldnotes to collect data, record my progress in the field and be able to later on reflect on my own position and bias towards the

---

[46] The region of Magallanes, or XII Region of Magallanes and Chilean Antarctica (XII Región de Magallanes y de la Antártica Chilena) is Chile's southernmost first order administrative division. It comprises four provinces, namely Última Esperanza, Magallanes, Tierra del Fuego, and Antártica Chilena.

[47] Augusto Pinochet (1915-2006) was the leader of the military junta that overthrew Salvador Allende's socialist regime in 1973. Pinochet became Chilean president in 1974. His regime aimed to estinguish leftist opposition, using torture and other human rights violations to do so, and followed a free-market economic philosophy (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2014b). During my time in Chile, I encountered several instances in which Pinochet was either shamed or celebrated in public life.

[48] The mutual relationship between Chile and Argentina is important for understanding the historical, political, and socio-economic meaning ascribed to Patagonia (see Chapter 1 for a deeper discussion) and informs or shapes everyday life on both sides of the border.

subjects of my study. I would include relevant information from the conversations and encounters I did not voice record as well as any occurrences and observations that I found interesting and noteworthy. Whereas in the first few months in Ushuaia, I would set aside time at night or early in the morning to catch up on my fieldnotes, as time went by and I started to work in hostels, frequently working until late at night or covering night shifts, my writing became more irregular. In Punta Arenas, where aside from interviews and my working hours in the hostel not too many events seemed noteworthy in the touristic low season, the extent of my fieldnotes decreased considerably. Upon return to Christchurch, I categorized my fieldnotes under themes that matched the categories of the newspaper archive, and analysed the entries that described my changing role in the field. Self-reflexivity enhances ethnographic fieldwork as the researcher becomes aware of the importance of interactional processes that underlie the absorption and transmission of knowledge (Sluka and Robben 2007:28).

In September, a month after having arrived in Argentina, I opened a Facebook account. The growing importance of including social network sites into anthropological research and analysis is hard to negate in today's digital age (Horst et al. 2012). Not only anthropology's essential affinity with social networking sites (Miller 2012), but also the multitude of new modalities of information make the inclusion of social networking sites in anthropological research imperative. Digital communication technologies must be regarded as an expansion of social environments and as new social fields that people engage in (Broadbent 2012:128; Postill 2008; Postill and Pink 2012). My joining Facebook was useful for connecting and sometimes bonding with people I met while in Ushuaia. I was able to have some insightful, spontaneous conversations with some research participants via the Facebook chat function, and people's status updates kept me informed about developments in their lives. The themed groups people can form and join at will were another useful feature that I could access via this social network. Early on I joined a group initiated by Ushuaian neighbours who were venting their anger about the water cuts that were affecting large parts of the city. A few days later, I joined the "Ushuaia" group whose members are both residents and tourists, commenting on the natural beauties of the city and its surroundings, and discussing current affairs affecting Ushuaia – i.e. the Governor's infamous interpretation of the Gaucho Rivero Act in late February and people's perceptions of migration and place making. I never participated actively in these debates, but read discussions and followed threads.

Finally, I used my camera to document some aspects of life in both gateway communities. For instance, I took photos of anti-Britain themed graffiti that had appeared in

Ushuaia as the 30th anniversary of the Malvinas/Falklands conflict was approaching in early April 2012. Photographing also proved to be useful during my explorations of the informal settlements in the hills above and in the outskirts of Ushuaia. Especially in the beginning, I used photographs as mnemonic cues to remember the people I had met. Margaret Mead (1970:249) emphasises that a good memory for faces is necessary in order to do well in fieldwork. As I often have difficulty remembering and recognizing people and wanted to spare myself the embarrassment of inadvertently ignoring them in the street, I would ask first-time research participants to take a picture with me at the end of our meeting. Notwithstanding the occasional initial surprise or slight awkwardness this sometimes produced, looking at these pictures afterwards would usually help me recognise them when encountering them by coincidence.

Photographs were also useful to instigate conversations with research participants (see Collier 1967). Sometimes, photographs helped to ease rapport or helped a conversation along (cf. Clark-Ibáñez 2004). Especially in the case of controversial topics such as Ushuaia's informal settlements, insightful data was generated by my research participants' reactions to photos that depicted scenes to do with this topic. More so than in general conversations about the settlements (which displayed in almost all of the cases pejorative standpoints), differing and also more differentiated opinions and comments were voiced when research participants commented on these pictures. Using this as a starting point, I was able to access information and perceptions that went beyond initial and more superficial reactions to do with the topic.

**Concerns and difficulties: Managing obstacles**

Overcoming challenges and obstacles in fieldwork is a natural part of the experience and can render invaluable insights that ultimately enhance understanding of life in the community. The strains and demands of long-term fieldwork, and the liminal status of the ethnographer are issues to be encountered in all anthropological fieldwork. Other obstacles that I encountered in Ushuaia are more place-specific. Both will be discussed in this section.

Being 'on'

Fieldwork is "a period of particularly heightened intensity" (Watson 1999:2). While for some anthropologists, fieldwork is energizing and intellectually stimulating (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002:65), I was prone to feel the self-imposed pressure of collecting adequate data and often felt overwhelmed. After several months of being constantly on (see DeWalt and DeWalt

2002:56f), I felt that I was beginning to run out of steam. I was working night shifts in a Bed and Breakfast, conducting interviews during the day, and writing fieldnotes in the evenings. In my friendships with local people who were mostly research participants, I never felt I was off. Instead, during casual and official situations alike, I was always observing, making mental notes, or formulating questions I could later on ask during interviews. My inability to turn the inner anthropologist off resulted in phases where I felt reluctant to meet up with people socially or casually, without agenda. My head felt saturated with data, perceptions and impressions, and I avoided new input (also see Gmelch and Gmelch 2009), a condition which Everhart (1977:13) calls "fieldwork fatigue".

I soon realized that it was not going to be possible to produce an exhaustive description of the community I had set out to study. Anthropologists, or any social scientists for that matter, "always rely on criteria of selection and inference" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007[1983]:32). Any account of any phenomenon, regardless of its scientific or casual nature, is necessarily partial (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002:98). Marcus aptly calls this "the norm of incompleteness" (2009:28). Still, having had the opportunity to renew "the freshness cycle" (Goffman 1989[1974]:130) of my fieldwork experience – the phase where the fieldworker is able to observe with fresh eyes, taking in more details than in later stages of fieldwork when the unfamiliar has become familiar and with this, blurred out the details and hindered new observations – would have been helpful.

Retrospectively, two separate trips of about half a year each with a reflective period in between – the "mid-fieldwork break" (Bernard 2006:382) – would have likely helped me to compartmentalize my thoughts, process my impressions, and identify information gaps to be filled during the second stint of data collecting. This would also have prevented a growing inhibiting familiarity with my social surroundings, which can impair the fieldworker's degree of attention and with this, the reliability of his or her observations (Lamnek 2007:557). An approach to fieldwork that takes into account phases of rest outside of the research context can result in a higher quality of collected data (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007[1983]:37). Fieldwork must include a time to record and reflect, which means that the pure observation time must be limited.

As it was, I had to learn to allow downtime to restore my energy. I did this by going on hiking day trips and multiple-day hiking and camping excursions through the stunning Patagonian landscapes, all relatively close to Ushuaia's city centre. I found that only those

escapes that I went on by myself or with people unrelated to my research allowed me to disengage mentally from it. Although I considered these activities recreational, they allowed me to experience the environments that are the objects of touristic activity and with this, rendered valuable field data (cf. Jackson 2005).

During my time in the field, I never felt like a researcher "paralyzed with loneliness and anxiety", as can be the case for some anthropologists when culture shock hits (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002:57; also see Buckley 1994). Heralded as one of Argentina's safest towns (Rodrigo, pers. comm. 2012), Ushuaia was a comfortable place to move around in. The city did not feel sufficiently exotic for me to feel culturally disoriented. The constant stream of tourists that I encountered in the course of my work exchange arrangements and the conviviality of my hospitality colleagues ensured I felt socially comfortable. Still, I did not feel at home either. Instead, my position as a foreigner and a researcher kept me at the fringes of the community. The uncertainty of the anthropologist's social position, which by design is on the margin of the society he or she researches, and the ambiguity that accompanies this position add to the strain a fieldworker experiences (Hammersley and Atkins 2007[1983]:89). Even as the year went on and I developed strong contacts and some good friendships, I never felt that I was anywhere but "on the edges of other people's lives, observing them" (Narayan in DeWalt and DeWalt 2002:25).

Voice-recording the interviews

Using a voice recorder in my interviews sparked three types of reactions. Generally when interviewing research participants with a high public profile and a job that necessitated a greater degree of social public exposure, the recorder seemed to give greater legitimacy to my research and my interviews and was always accepted without hesitation. However, sometimes, when I was talking to research participants from a disadvantaged background as far as personal economy and education went, I perceived hesitation or insecurity regarding my use of a voice recorder. The most memorable reaction was from a young woman in her mid-twenties who had invited me to her house in an informal settlement at the fringe of the city. When I asked her whether I could record our conversation, she covered her mouth with her hands and said almost apologetically, "I am from the North, I don't speak so well", seemingly embarrassed and intimidated by the prospect of having her words recorded. What was interesting about this comment was the underlying sense of inferiority, explicitly related to geography, that I grasped from her words. This notion would later on be reflected in my conversations with non-Fueguian

research participants about their relationships with Fueguinos. This particular woman was one of the faster-speaking research participants I have worked with, and I was aware of potential difficulties while trying to write along when she was speaking. Luckily for me, she dropped her doubts after I assured her that only I would be listening to her file when transcribing it, and from then on she seemed unconcerned by the device on the table between us.

Apart from these two types of reactions – undisturbed, self-confident approval and initial self-consciousness – there was another instance where my use of the voice recorder was brought up. This interaction served as a reminder of the total experience of fieldwork that can collapse distinctions between the personal and the professional, as well as between work and leisure. I had been conducting several interviews with a man in his mid-twenties, a recent migrant from the northern region of Argentina, who was going through a rough time in Ushuaia. In the course of my interviewing and meeting up with him, we had developed a friendship (also see Michrina and Richards 1996:77f; Everhart 1977). As an anthropologist working on an urban ethnography, I was interested in his struggles as a recent migrant to Ushuaia. As a friend, I was happy I could lend an ear and be present. Our friendship had developed out of my anthropological interest in him, and as a consequence, I did not manage to "turn the anthropologist off" when meeting with him.

On one occasion, he had called me to tell me there were new developments in the struggles he was facing, and we agreed to meet up at a park-like green space by the centre. When I showed up and unpacked my voice recorder, my friend reacted unnerved and said, "This is not work, this is my talking to you as a friend. Put that thing away." I did, and apologized, and from then on would make sure to make "official interview appointments" with him so that he would know when to expect the voice recorder. My research participant had rejected the more official-seeming semi-structured interviewing in favour of the more intimate unstructured conversation and drawn my attention to the underlying friendship that connected us. Luckily for our rapport, we managed to turn my blunder into a laughing matter. This episode highlighted for me not only the ethnographer's liminal role in the field, but also the difficult line between friendship and fieldwork, the personal and the professional, which especially as time flowed on would become increasingly hard to separate.

Accommodation

Obtaining appropriate – central and affordable – accommodation in Ushuaia was not a concern of mine prior to leaving Buenos Aires. Based on experiences in eastern South America, I was convinced that both my budget (I held a UC Doctoral scholarship that had supported me effortlessly in New Zealand) and my adaptability (I held low expectations and was prepared to compromise on comfort) would allow me to quickly find a suitable place to stay at and work from. Through an online platform (www.couchsurfing.org) I stayed overnight at an Argentine woman's place. Though we had originally agreed on three overnights, I ended up befriending her and staying on her spare divan for a full seven weeks as I struggled to find a room. In my search for accommodation, she cautioned me repeatedly not to take "the first room that comes along. They offer you draughty dumps and charge you as if it were a palace" (Natalia, pers. comm. 2011).[49] Indeed, it was not only the scarcity of "suitable" accommodation (a definition which I repeatedly downgraded in order to widen my options) but also the price. I had quickly moved away from the thought that US$ 100, the amount I had originally budgeted with, would get me far in the rental market. My Argentine friends would commonly pay around US$ 300 or more per month for a single room that was not even in the city centre. A common procedure to find accommodation was to consult property managers. These businesses, however, would usually require a minimum rental commitment of two years and charge a hefty commission fee.

Finally, I ended up inquiring at hostels about monthly rates. The hostel owner of the third hostel I inquired at offered me a work-exchange deal: free accommodation and use of the facilities in exchange for a day's work behind the counter at the hostel. This arrangement suited me as it gave me direct access to tourists and helped me get a better understanding of the experiences of low-salaried workers with insecure jobs as well as the higher-waged positions. The co-owner of the hostel, a vivacious man in his late thirties by the name of Domenico, had recently built a 2.5x1.5m plywood room inside of a container under the kitchen that I was to use as my quarter while I worked at the hostel (Figures 2.1 and 2.2).

[49] The socio-economic processes and events that inform this statement will be discussed in later sections of this thesis, especially Chapter 6.

**Figure 2.1** Access to the container room (Photograph: A. Herbert).

**Figure 2.2** The inside of the container room (Photograph: A. Herbert).

The container was accessible through the hostel's backyard, and the plywood room was just big enough to fit a narrow mattress and store my backpack. Co-owner of the hostel together with two other people and taking turns running the hostel, Domenico left his home in Buenos Aires for several months each year to live in Ushuaia. Unwilling to pay the rent for a house and without an employee he considered trustworthy enough to run the hostel in his absence, he lived in the hostel, sleeping in the narrow space on the floor behind the counter in the lounge. The counter had curtains Domenico pulled for privacy when he went to bed, which was frequently after midnight after the other guests of the hostel had left the lounge which was a popular socializing and hangout spot.

I stayed a month in this first hostel working behind the counter, cleaning, and serving breakfast, then switched to a Bed and Breakfast in December where I worked night shifts, holidays, and a full day per week from December to March in exchange for accommodation. This again proved to be an insightful and practical solution to my habitation challenges and allowed me easy access to both staff and tourists. I left the B&B in March for a hostel that also sold places on Antarctic expedition ships, and stayed at this place until May, working in reception. These arrangements allowed me access to valuable information and informants as well as the opportunity for participant observation where staffers were concerned.

## Fitting in

I never expected to closely match Ushuaian women when it came to physical appearances and a sense of fashion. Benevolently describing my way of dressing as "relaxed-casual" and being on a budget, I knew that I was likely going to stand out amongst Argentine women whom I found to be typically of a petite stature, carefully groomed, and fashionably dressed. In comparison to my generally high-heeled female Argentine peer group, I often felt mannish and inelegant in my functional boots, boot-cut jeans, and woollen second-hand sweaters. As ethnographic research is facilitated by the reduction of any sharp differences in appearance and habits (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007[1983]:67), a few weeks into fieldwork, I went to a local store and bought a more fashionable pair of pants that cost approximately US$ 100. I flirted with the idea of acquiring one of the brightly-coloured puffy winter jackets that dominated the fashion worn on Ushuaia's main street, San Martín, through much of the year. As a jacket of said kind would have set me back at least US$ 300, however, I drew the line at my upmarket pair of jeans. My endeavour with place-appropriate fashion helped me appreciate how expensive it was to share what seemed like predominantly conspicuous consumption, and made me realize that the only second-hand store I found in the city (a non-descript array of clothes in cardboard boxes in the basement room of a local church) seemed to be exclusively for "the really poor": informal settlers and recent migrants from the economically deprived regions of the Argentine north. After upgrading my wardrobe and adjusting my appearance, to a degree, I did not stand out much anymore when walking along San Martín street. However, I was frequently dealing with people whose income exceeded mine considerably. They were long-time residents and worked in government positions or owned a hospitality businesses, or newer residents who had found a job in the factories. At the same time, some of my research participants lived in the settlements, often without secure paid employment, and earned less than I did. The differing levels of economic fluidity were insightful when it came to thinking about local access to goods and activities for varying sectors of society.

The concept of fitting in extended to other realms, too. The "cardinal rule of anthropological fieldwork" (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002:53) entails not turning down any food or drink that is offered while in the field. As a vegetarian, I had to break this rule. I admit that being an omnivore would have been easier in a nation whose identity and culinary expertise are so strongly informed by meat dishes and asados (barbecues). However, openly displaying difference can render insightful socio-cultural data as research participants situate the researcher in their worldviews (Sutton 1997). Furthermore, the urban and cosmopolitan nature of Ushuaia and the extreme climate which discouraged frequent outdoors barbecues left me feeling that my vegetarianism did not impact too

strongly on my rapport-building. Restaurants, though oriented towards the meat-eating Argentine and touristic clientele, were able to cater basic meals for vegetarians, too.

In early August, a few days before my arrival in Ushuaia, I met up with two social sciences professors from the University of Buenos Aires (Universidad de Buenos Aires, UBA). One of them remarked on the good quality of the Patagonian roast lamb (cordero fueguino) which is a famed regional specialty in the South. When I mentioned that I was a vegetarian, my counterparts expressed a genuine concern for my wellbeing and told me that neither fruit nor vegetables ("They have nothing fresh!") were available in Ushuaia. This reflects on a certain set of perceptions and images that Northern Argentines hold about the southernmost Argentine city. These include the inhospitable character of the region and the extreme conditions of a frontier town that is best admired from the distance – with both a certain amount of pride and a shuddering gratitude to be living in a city where most of the contemporary urban comforts are readily available at one's fingertips. Needless to say, Ushuaia has several well-stocked supermarkets that carried fruit, vegetables and all other nutritional necessities for a vegetarian to survive comfortably.

**Data analysis and discussion**

After conducting interviews with research participants, I made short protocols of topics discussed and questions raised, as well as accompanying observations about setting and personal comments. In the course of my fieldwork, patterns and categories emerged that I adopted as topical leads for post-fieldwork analysis, too. Upon return to New Zealand, all interviews were transcribed by me and, when time concerns became more pressing, by two South American women in Christchurch whom I hired for this task. I organised the data from the interviews, literature and newspaper clippings into the topical categories described in earlier sections of this chapter. This grouping strategy allowed me to identify similarities, differences, and preeminent features among the collected data.

My analysis does not involve an ongoing process of feedback and further discussion between my research participants and myself, with a few exceptions where I sought confirmation and advice per e-mail. Due to cost and time restrictions, a further visit to the field was not feasible after fieldwork had been completed in August 2012.

## Ethical considerations

Ethnographic fieldwork entails intrusion into research participants' lives, and researchers handle data that is frequently deeply personal and sometimes compromising. Strategies need to be in place to protect the interests and rights of the research participants. Research participants have the right not to be harmed in the course or as a result of the research, the right to full disclosure, the right of self-determination, and the rights of privacy, anonymity, and confidentiality (also see HEC 2013). My research qualified as a low-risk study and was cleared by the University of Canterbury's Human Ethics Committee in 2011 (reference number 2011/48). When speaking with research participants in the field, I identified myself as a researcher and explained the nature, purpose, and foreseeable consequences of the study. Research participants signed a consent form on which they also indicated whether the interview could be voice-recorded, and were given a typed overview of the study. They were also informed that pseudonyms and the distortion of identifying information would be used in the production of the thesis. Furthermore, I emphasised research participants' right to withdraw from the study at any time without adverse consequences to them. I obtained verbal permission before taking photographs. Research participants were not paid for their participation. Fieldnotes, digital interview files and transcriptions, and other material that featured information collected from research participants are kept in a locked cabinet at my workspace at university and/or are stored on a password-protected computer. Data will be destroyed after the PhD process is completed.

## Conclusion

Ethnographic fieldwork renders invaluable data that helps to make sense of life in the chosen research community. An urban ethnography of Ushuaia, Argentina, which most importantly included participant observation, interviews, literature and newspaper research, and the building up and active maintenance of a network of research participants, friends, and acquaintances, was the ideal tool to understanding residents' constructions and readings of place and the social organisation of an Antarctic gateway city.

Framed at an urban scale, my ethnography brings together the voices of residents that are seldom heard together. When contrasted with each other, these voices render new and valuable insights into the varied inhabitants that make a place in and of Ushuaia. Using a wealth of verbatim quotations throughout my thesis helps to depict and illustrate the perspectives of my research participants.

# 3 The social profile of Ushuaia

Ushuaia's rapid population growth is linked with the geopolitical importance that the Argentine government ascribes to the city. Ushuaia is a boom town. The immsense growth the city has been subjected to since the 1970s is changing Ushuaia's social composition. Boom towns inevitably come to have less homogeneous populations than during the pre-boom period (Smith et al. 2001:447). Migration to Argentina is enticing for many South Americans as they can find better labour or living conditions there than in their places of origin. Ushuaia, both from a financial and lifestyle perspective, is the Promised Land, "the place for those who dream of a better life" (Worman 2011b). Its growth is the consequence of both amenity and induced economic immigration.[50]

Argentina's policies regarding residence and entry are flexible. For example, no entering migrant has to have a visa or return ticket (del Acebo Ibáñez 2010:254). Since the 1970s, when the Argentine government turned Patagonia into an oasis of economic incentives, Argentina's south has been particularly attractive for migrants. The migratory developments in Tierra del Fuego open up questions surrounding the changing socio-cultural makeup of the receiving communities. This in turn affects residents' sense of place, and shapes their responses to challenges the community faces in the form of tourism, urban development, and social cohesion.

[50] Amenity migration entails the phenomenon of urban people moving away from big cities to rural areas where they can be closer to natural resources (Moss 2006). Besides the wish for more personally meaningful surroundings or a simpler existence, motives include economic gain and the wish to escape city life. Especially in Argentina, terrorism in the 1970s and 80s pushed people to flee from urban centres and seek refuge in rural environments. Still today, with crime and unemployment rates high, people move to Patagonia to escape the problems of the city. While prior to the 1980s, migrants mainly went from rural to urban environments in the hopes of finding employment, the dream of the big city life went sour with the economic crisis in the 1980s and 90s. Consequently, rural life began to seem both desirable and promising in terms of employment (see Otero et al. 2006). Amenity migrants move to rural environments in the hopes of finding a lifestyle of greater environmental, social, or economic quality (Moore et al. 2006:135). As natural resources in Argentina became more valued after the 1930s and nature was made into an object of consumption for the ruling class (Otero et al. 2006), rural and more isolated areas as well as life in smaller cities became more appealing to many relatively affluent Argentines.

Amenity-led or economic migration encompasses those migrants who follow amenity migrants for predominantly economic reasons. As the reputation of a destination grows, migrants (both amenity and amenity-led) start moving directly to the new place instead of settling there as returning visitors (Moss 2006). Tourism serves as a catalyst for both amenity and economic migrants as the destination image created re-imagines the countryside and presents the city as affluent and subsequently rich in employment opportunities (Mueller 2006:246; cf. Casado-Diaz 2012:121).

In this chapter, I explore how these trends sharply influence local placemaking processes and shape the sense of place and place identity of residents who belong to different social groups (i.e. economic or lifestyle migrants, NyC or VyQ).

In line with the ethnographic character of my thesis, the content of this chapter is written primarily from the evidence of my ethnographic work. Inferences are drawn based on ethnographic experience rather than a comprehensive survey. For a better understanding of the diverse characteristics of the residents I interviewed for this chapter, and to indicate the limitations of my results at the same time, I list the research participants relevant for my findings in Table 3.1.

**Table 3.1** Overview of principal research participants in Chapter 3

| | |
|---|---|
| **Government administration** | Natalia – Government employee at the port administration, in her 40s, originally from Mendoza<br>Jaime – Architect employed in Urban Planning at the municipality, in his 50s<br>Esteban – Lawyer employed at the municipality, in his 30s, originally from Buenos Aires<br>Francisca – Government employee in International Relations, in her mid-30s, recently immigrated from Mendoza |
| **Tourism business** | Manuela – owner of a central hostel, in her 30s<br>María – co-owner of a central touristic bar, in her late 30s, migrated to Ushuaia for lifestyle reasons in the mid-1990s |
| **Tourism institutions** | Daniel Leguizamón – Secretary of Tourism, in his 50s<br>Julio Lovece – former Secretary of Tourism, founder of an NGO concerned with tourism, culture and the environment, in his 60s |
| **City services** | Vicente – Director of Social Work department, Ushuaia, originally from Northern province, in his late 50s<br>Rodrigo – chief police officer, 40s |
| **Economic migrants** | Dani – Dockworker in his mid-20s, recent migrant from Buenos Aires<br>Pablo – informal settler, in his 40s, employed as baggage handler at airport. Migrated from Northern Patagonia to Ushuaia in early 2000s<br>Catalina – informal settler in her late 30s, employed at central gym. Migrated from Northern Patagonia in early 2000s<br>Mauricio – window washer in the streets, in his mid-40s, originally from Chubut. Came to Ushuaia as an economic migrant in 2008 |

## Representing Patagonia: In need of an Other

In this section, I explore the historical developments that underlay some of the current social processes occurring in Ushuaia. As the repercusssions of these historical decisions and events affect and shape present-day life in the gateway city, an awareness and acknowledgement of them is essential to understanding the lives, choices, and attitudes of contemporary Ushuaian residents.

The process of politically induced demographic change can be traced back to the 19th century, when the Argentine Nation State deemed incorporation or extermination the only strategies for handling indigenous population[51] in Patagonia (Bandieri 2009:153). From invading an already-populated area

> "arose the strong tendency to 'Argentinizing' the Patagonian populations, either overcoming or ignoring the cultural diversities, in search for a supposed 'national community' that was considered to be culturally homogeneous." (del Acebo Ibáñez 2010:255)

Governmental and non-governmental representations of Patagonia shed light on political and cultural constructions of the region's image. These representations, used to influence public opinions on political endeavours and immersed in the imperial gaze, distort and justify colonization and the so-called civilizing missions against indigenous peoples. Alternative perspectives and interpretations about indigenous behaviours and their alleged collaboration in their destruction challenge this gaze (Barbas Rhoden 2008) while pointing out that the targeted indigenous peoples were neither wild nor part of the natural environment, nor did they simply "naturally disappear" (García and Miralles 2008).

State-produced books (i.e. teaching material for schools, governmental promotional literature) of the 1950s were utilised to create a national consciousness of land as patrimony. The aim was to create a national unity[52] through a common geography (García and Miralles 2008). Patagonia was represented in a positive way that highlighted the regional natural beauty. Allegedly positive transformations of the landscapes, away from being a desert, were emphasized. Texts in contemporary school books echo economic politics, promoting tourism to Patagonia as something desirable, and aim to create support for mining activities. Cultural homogeneity is endorsed, as can be seen in phrasings such as "Still today, some [peoples] have not adapted to our civilization" (García and Miralles 2008:221; also see Ygobone 1945:125). Representations of indigenous people as exotic

[51] The original inhabitants of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego were the Yámanas, Onas, Haush, and Alacalufes (Instituto Fueguino de Turismo 2013; cf. Chapter 1).

[52] Interesting in this regard is also the following: At the end of the 19th century, the Argentine government aimed to create a feeling of national unity and nationalism through the image of an "ancient Patagonian" who was comparable to the Neanderthal (Navarro Floria et al. 2004). The invention of an Argentine ancestor, backed by scientifically questionable archaeological findings, discursively constructed a national past. The subsequential increased perception of national unity and the ensuing (aspired) status elevation among other South American nations was meant to aid Argentina in presuming a leading role in South America.

and strange served (and arguably still support) the according imperialistic ideologies. An informal empire was and is partially constructed and upheld through discursive power. When referring to landscapes as untouched and pure, the indigenous inhabitants of these aesthetically assessed landscapes are overlooked and obscured (Peñaloza 2008). Nature-focused metaphors serve to embed Patagonia in the national centralization process and idealize the region, transforming it from a frightening place into domesticated habitable territory (Dimitriu 2000).

Even today, the images of Patagonia that have been circulated since the sixteenth century continue to be re-created. The imagined homogeneity of the place and the people living in it is linked to the region's past and its virgin nature. However, at the same time these images contrast with the cultural and ethnic heterogeneity, the diversity of the existing townships and cities, and a natural environment that lost its virginity a long time ago. Patagonia in the national imaginary was transformed from a vacuous, savage space into a territory of natural recourses as well as a place for pioneers and settlers (Torres 2010:198f).

This change in image, along with socio-economic growth, has resulted in a place that over the time span of only five decades grew from a few thousand inhabitants to a city of nearly 60,000 (cf. Chapter 1). Increasing and ongoing migration to small towns in rural areas brings along challenges. As the population of communities changes quickly, so do the social relationships that define the community. Migrants stay on intermittently, seasonally, or permanently (Moss 2006). This affects their sense of belonging to their new surroundings – Otero et al. (2006) speak of the "passing-through mentality" of intermittent or seasonal migrants. In Ushuaia, this mobile part of the community is known as "the alluvial population", or residents who allegedly came and went like the tides. High rotation in a community places stress on all sides, and newcomers are not always welcomed due to the strains they can put on community life and cohesion. The social integration of migrants can be slow, resulting in social and ethnic segregation (Otero et al. 2006) and a dualistic mentality of "us and them". This tension increases with the growing tightness of resources. As prices for goods, living space, and services increase with growing demand from both tourists and residents, problems may arise for those residents who find themselves pushed to the spatial and social periphery of the city as they struggle to keep up with the socio-economic demands of everyday life. Gentrification around "valuable" spaces, often in connection with increased touristic potential of land as shown in Chapter 4, bring along issues of diminishing access for residents as well as social division and displacement of economically weaker groups (cf. Ajitamos 2011:5; Moss 2006; Otero et al. 2006; Swords and Mize 2008; see Chapter 9).

A higher degree of mobility adversely impacts on the migrants' sense of place attachment (Urry and Larsen 2011:144). An elevated degree of community attachment – a positive connection between residents and their community (Koons Trentelman 2009:201) – helps a community to weather out change and strengthens its resilience to challenges (Brown et al. 2005:46). Change does not necessarily always entail lasting social disruptions. Watching the community transform can strengthen residents' attachment to it. Witnessing transformation and growth does not inevitably make residents yearn for the allegedly better past. Humans are able to create "anew interpretations of and relationships with their changing community" (Brown et al. 2005:47). It is the transitioning process, before a realignment of communal outlook has been established, that holds the greatest challenges. Similarly, it is those residents who are perceived to be in transition, not belonging to their previous dwellings any more and not yet fully belonging to their new residence, who are perceived as a threat to the existing, established society. Mary Douglas holds that

> "[d]anger lies in transitional states, simply because transition is neither one state nor the next, it is indefinable. The person who must pass from one to another is himself in danger and emanates danger to others." (1966:96)

In Ushuaia, the resident community still wrestles with the changes that the near-constant immigration since the 1970s has brought. Established residents dualistically separate the community into us (environmentally conscious, appreciative of natural amenities) and them (economics-focused, abusive). Similarly, newcomers striving to stay long-term feel ostracised and bitter towards the unwelcoming receiving community and lament the lack of community solidarity. The words that Ushuaia's Secretary of Tourism used to describe life in Ushuaia to me depict a scenario far removed from the lifeworlds of many of my research participants:

> "It's the end of the planet, and a sector of the world which is free of violence, of xenophobia, of racism – people come here and don't encounter the same problems that they have in other parts of the world that are also very beautiful." (Leguizamón, pers. comm. 2012)

The feeling of belonging to a place is instrumental in creating collective identities (Lovell 1998:4). In the process of creating collective identities, boundaries are drawn between social groups:

> "The 'local' is conditioned into being, and invoked into existence, through the necessity of creating an 'other' who is as different from ourselves as possible." (Lovell 1998:4-5)

Othering, a term first coined by the Indian literary theorist Gayatri Spivak in 1985 in her examination of archive material of the British colonial power in India, is based on Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit (1998). Hegel understands the social processes of differentiation as part of the human struggle for identity. The use of essentialist assumptions about social groups other than one's own, resulting in

stigmatisation (MacQuarrie 2010), is entrenched in questions of power and inequality. Ruth Lister (2004) defines Othering as a

> "process of differentiation and demarcation, by which the line is drawn between 'us' and 'them' – between the more and the less powerful – and through which social distance is established and maintained." (2004:101)

By exploring how the 'Other' is defined in Ushuaian society and outlining different community members' perceptions of each other, I draw attention to the structural imbalances that underpin current social processes and urban development in Ushuaia.

## Social cohesion: Insider/Outsider perspectives

One afternoon in January 2012 while I was working at the B&B, the owner, Manuela, mentioned to me that she had recently hired a young woman who had dropped off a Curriculum Vitae a few weeks prior. Remembering that Manuela had looked at the woman's national identity number on the document and remarked that she was Bolivian, I asked, "Ah, the Bolivian woman?" Visibly taken aback by this, Manuela sternly told me: "Here, we don´t say that. We don´t say Boliviana because that is a derogative term here."

An objective national denomination that is perceived as synonymous for derogation and discrimination necessitates a closer look at the society behind it. Findings from my fieldwork indicate that as a society that relies heavily on State subsidies[53], Fueguians are biased mainly against economic migrants who they fear would take advantage of the free health care, welfare, and jobs in the city. Economic migrants are associated with inflicting damage to the community as they are perceived as lacking emotional attachment to it. Migrants from Bolivia, one of South America's economically weaker nation states, have (often undeservedly, see Martínez et al. 2010) become synonymous for squatting, environmentally ruthless temporary migrants who carefully retain their cultural idiosyncracies and have no intentions to contribute to the overall wellbeing of a community they do not feel an equal or accepted part of.

[53] Many of my research participants referred to Ushuaia as a maintained society, pointing to its economic dependence on funds from Buenos Aires.

**Residents: Born and Bred (NyC) and Came and Stayed (VyQ)**

In Ushuaia, there are two terms that describe the local, divided population. Established residents (Nacidos y Criados, acronym NyC, translating to "Born and Bred") are separated from migrants (Venidos y Quedados, VyQ, translating to "Came and Stayed"), and both are contrasted against those who came 'involuntarily' for mainly economic motives following the provincial business incentives in 1972 (Traidos a la Fuerza, TaF, translates to "Brought by Force"). The TaF include managers of private businesses, authorities of public businesses, marine soldiers, and factory workers who escape meagre Northern salaries (Lovece 2011a). The terminology surged in 1987 in a public debate about the consequences of the establishment of the manufacturing industry in Tierra del Fuego. Lovece argues that

> "NyC and VyQ are legitimate Fueguinos. The unknown variable is those who came here by force. TaF are the majority. (…) They work and save for a future that they will develop on the continent. Proof for this lies in the 62% of wages paid on the island that are wired to the rest of the country." (Lovece 2011a)

According to this perspective, while the majority of TaF transformed into VyQ[54] and became long-term community members, a lack of identification with the province resulted in an abuse of the environment which left "a profound mark in our society" (Lovece 2011a). This mark is perceived as both metaphorical and literal: City dwellers, mostly established residents, often point to El Escondido, an informal settlement clearly visible in a deforested part of the hills above the city, which houses mostly VyQ (see Chapter 6). In this section, I present data that mostly derives from the perspective of NyC or established residents, while in subsequent chapters, the focus is on VyQ or residents with a recent migratory background.

The following dialogue that developed in the Facebook group 'Ushuaia' on 31/01/2012 sheds light on some of the more extreme viewpoints that circulate in Ushuaia. These viewpoints touch on notions of belonging, merit, and the importance of landscape in the NyC's perception of

[54] For the sake of clarity, I will treat TaF as VyQ. I refer to NyC as 'established residents' or Fueguinos, and to VyQ as 'newcomers' or 'recent migrants'. I make an additional distinction into 'established VyQ' when talking about residents who were not born in Tierra del Fuego but consider themselves an established part of the local society. Van Aert and Malizia (2010) distinguish VyQ in Argentine VyQ and foreign VyQ as there are differences in attitude and behaviour among them. In this chapter, I will sometimes refer to established residents, which encompasses those parts of the population who were either born in Ushuaia (NyC) or immigrated there and consider themselves an integral part of the province. They differ in their long-term commitment to those migrants who immigrated more recently and harbour no plans for staying permanently.

self. While in its discriminatory frankness a comparatively isolated expression, some points mirror commonly held accusations and perceptions – both of self and of the Other from the viewpoint of established residents:

> **Administrator:** Let's see folks, there's people who believe that by coming to the island they can save themselves from their economic problems, from the pain of their homelands, [and] that everything that glitters is gold here. [They are] people who usurp[55] [span. usurpar] land, who come here and create a social chaos. Ushuaia, animate yourself for social action! Ushuaia has stopped being the generous land!!!!! The people, the children born here, are first, the others come after that. (…) People, go back home and face your destinies. Why do you come here and pay rent and afterwards you fell trees to build a house? I am tired of the abuse. People from T[ierra]d[el]F[uego], animate yourselves and defend your place!
>
> **Female group member:** COMING TO VISIT YES, STAYING TO USURP NO!!!

These views are representative of opinions expressed to me by established residents throughout my fieldwork. Established residents felt that their home community was being invaded and overrun by migrants trying to escape dire economic conditions in their places of origin. According to the perspective of established residents, these migrants mistook Ushuaia for an economic paradise that could be freely exploited, paying little attention to the long-term environmental and socio-economic consequences of their actions.

The rebuttal that quickly followed the administrator's comment points to another issue that plays into the perception of insiders and outsiders:

> **Male group member:** [Administrator], you are wrong. Remember that we people of Buenos Aires contribute to the funds for the subsidies in gas and public work in the South. What an unpleasant comment. I am really offended.
>
> **Administrator:** Offended [male group member]? Is it not that Buenos Aires returns to us what we give them for free in petrol, gas, and all those resources that are extracted from here? You believe they do us a favour [by] giving back crumbs to us? (…) Let's say it like it is, and you more than anyone protest that the cash from our resources comes back to our [province]. Stop living off everybody else. Buenos Aires has the highest social expenses at more than 3000 million pesos. Is it not time you start working?[56] (Posts on Facebook group

[55] Throughout this thesis, I use the term usurp interchangeably with the terms seize land, occupy, and squat to describe the process of settling on land unlawfully.

[56] Two days after the thread was started by one of the group's administrators, a second administrator intervened and posted the following message: "Hi folks! Apologies for the comments of one of our administrators, we believe that Ushuaia remains a land full of opportunities and we're grateful for that as it's

Ushuaia, 30/01/2012. Translation mine, punctuation corrected for better understanding where necessary.)

Pablo, a lawyer employed by the Ushuaian municipality, explained that the anti-Porteño mindset that exists in Ushuaia was linked with Buenos Aires being historically the place in Argentina where most of the migrants landed. A strong sense of identity as Porteños developed amongst the people who stayed on in Buenos Aires, and who then defined themselves against other provinces:

> "It was like, they're 'Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires' and the rest, we never existed, the interior. (...) Whatever came from the outside was displayed as better, as if we never were capable of anything. That always disturbs me." (Pablo)

The proud insistence on a pronouncedly Patagonian identity (Conway 2005:24) then serves to set Patagonians apart from Porteños who dominate the nation. Self-conscious about the connotations of being a maintained, dependent region, established residents accentuate their permanence through economically challenging periods. When the financial crisis hit Ushuaia in the early 21st century, many of the factories had to close, and people started to leave the city. Several research participants commented on the hardships and personal commitment to Ushuaia of those who opted for staying on despite the crisis:

> "Obviously, they liked [Ushuaia], because it's not easy and it wasn't easy back then in that period. Imagine entering your house and not having any other heating than firewood. You had to cut wood, which froze beneath the snow... it was difficult. Those who stayed were those who liked [the place]." (Natalia, pers. comm. 2012)

A perception arises that those who stayed on through the city's rough beginnings and through economic crises merit the subsidies in contrast to those who did not earn them this way. This partly explains the relative impermeability of the social group of Ushuaian NyC. The resolve of established Ushuaians hardens against perceived opportunistic newcomers who are likely to leave after a period of time, and more so if they are from abroad.

In my interactions with residents, it soon became clear that established inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego often feel that their identity is intrinsically linked to their surroundings, and that they are accordingly suspicious of those migrants who they deem not to share this sentiment. In the

---

our land that has given us so much. We are or were all, in one way or another, immigrants, and blessed be those who come here and work." (02/02/2012).

foreword of an anthology of local prose and poetry, the mayor of Ushuaia at that time described Fueguinos as geographical beings:

> "Geography makes of the Fueguian 'BEING' a person rich in different experiences, subdued under the swayings of marine winds and eternal snow, in interminable winter games." (Garramuño 2001)

In her research on identity and sense of belonging in an English community, Jeanette Edwards (1998) found out that community members mobilised the past to form a communal identity. Similarly, Ushuaians select origin as a relevant element in identity-making and community-forming. Status is "made manifest through evidence of belonging to the locality" (Edwards 1998:155). In Ushuaia, landscape and climate play a central role as markers of belonging. Lovell suggests that

> "locality and belonging may be moulded and defined as much by actual territorial emplacement as by memories of belonging to particular landscapes whose physical reality is enacted only through acts of collective remembering." (Lovell 1998:1f)

Accounts of the past by my research participants who identified as NyC always featured physical and financial hardships in defying the harsh climate. This was accompanied by a sense of pride in adapting to the natural surroundings and overcoming the challenges they posed. Those of my research participants who were recent newcomers, or did not consider themselves Fueguinos, admitted to (still) struggling with the climate and the restrictions it put on their mobility and range of activities. Nevertheless, also among economic migrants, appreciation of the tranquillity, safety, and geographical features of Ushuaia and its surroundings ranked highly.

Especially economic migrants from an economically insecure background and struggling to get by in Ushuaia feel unwelcome. The rejection of economic migrants goes so far that alleged "spy tourists" from Israel are deemed more desireable than those economically wanting, one of the reasons being that the Israeli visitors generate revenue and therefore contribute to the tourist economy. During an interview with a group of of police officers who alleged that young Israelis, in the guise of tourists, complete their military training in Patagonia, a police chief explained that

> "they [Israeli spy tourists] are marking paths, doing espionage. (…) They come here for twelve days, walking all day long. They mark everything on their maps. Usually it's two women and three men. They stay in hostels [but] not the expensive ones. Here [in the city], they walk around in normal clothes, but in the mountains, they have the latest high-tech equipment: GPS, satellite phone. Our [Argentine] laws aren't very strict, so they come as backpackers." (Rodrigo, pers. comm. 2012)

To the nodded agreement of his colleagues, the police chief then emphasised the social ranking of the alleged spies which placed them above economic migrants:

> "But they [Israeli spy tourists] are welcome, eh? They're welcome. One prefers that they come here, and doesn't prefer that people from the margin, from Peru, from Bolivia, come." (Rodrigo, pers. comm. 2012)

The aversion against economic migrants that was expressed by members of the police force may be best understood in relation to the perceived increase of crime and subsequent decrease of safety in Ushuaia. This is likely to negatively influence public perception of police work and increase subsequent pressure on the police to control crime developments. Beyond these very specified considerations, the above displayed comments also represent a sentiment that I found to be prevalent among the city-dwelling population in general.

Migrants with a lower level of education (incomplete secondary studies) who worked in unskilled or lower skilled jobs, remarked in interviews with me that they felt unhappy with the lack of integration into Ushuaia's social structure. Alonso, a waiter and night-time receptionist from Formosa, perceived Ushuaians as less open and hospitable than other Argentines. Although he had been working in Ushuaia for three years by the time of the interview, he claimed not to have many friends but rather acquaintances in the city.

Mauricio, a car window washer in one of Ushuaia's intersections, found locals to be closed-off, uncommunicative, and keeping to themselves. Various research participants commented on the lack of community spirit in the city. This perceived unwelcoming climate led to my research participants glorifying their places of origin that they regarded, in contrast to Ushuaia, as warm, generous and inclusive. Van Aert and Malizia report that 75% of those migrants who arrived to Ushuaia before 1986 felt like Fueguinos (2010:399). In contrast, none of the migrants I spoke to, many with more than thirty years of residence in Tierra del Fuego, considered themselves Fueguinos. Francisca, a recent migrant, felt that the local, established population alieniated the rest of the population, presenting themselves as the only "real" Fueguians:

> "They [other migrants] told me that when you're with a Fuegino and you say you're a Fueguino, they don't like that because you're not a native from here. You only are if you were born here."

Francisca's discernment of Ushuaia community is representative of the perceptions of most of the migrants that I interviewed. A university-educated woman from Mendoza in her early thirties

with a well-paying job and moderate responsibilities in government, she perceived Fueguinos to be cool in demeanour and their trust hard to earn:

> "Here society is very cosmopolitan. The people here who welcome you, include you, make you feel at home… the majority of those are not Fueguinos. (…) Maybe it has to do with how Fueguinos emotionally protect themselves – they know that people come and then go (…), so they safeguard their affections a little."

The social networks that migrants formed were mostly with other migrants. In Francisca's perception, the migrant population in Ushuaia came off as warmer and more affectionate than the established residents:

> "The majority who offer their space to you, invite you into their houses, are not from here. (…) There are not many places that are as receiving and integrating as this one. In the North they are more shy but more predisposed to be affective and offer you much of the little that they have. In the interior, they are warm-hearted and like sharing their stories. (…) I came with one suitcase, and people lent me stuff, but they had all come from the interior [of Argentina] years ago."

The Other, in Ushuaia, is also identified based on ethnic origin. Some migrants hailing from Northern parts of Argentina and neighbouring countries felt that they were discriminated against because they were darker-skinned than the established residents, many of whom had European ancestry and lighter complexions (cf. Martinic 2002; Pisarro 2010). Ulises, a Porteño, reported several incidents in which he was stopped by police when walking in the street, and was asked for documentation: "If you have dark skin and short hair, chau, that's it." Repeatedly, when we walked into the main supermarket in the city centre, both of us wearing backpacks, I passed through the entrance that was flanked by a security officer without being approached, while Ulises was stopped and asked to lock his backpack up in a locker. When I mentioned this to another, unrelated research participant, he shrugged his shoulders and answered: "Chorro [derogative term for men; delinquent, someone who steals] is chorro. Sometimes you can tell." Still, in general, both Ulises and many of the other migrant research participants I spoke to felt calmer and happier in Ushuaia than they felt in the capital where "people lock their car doors when they see you cross the street" (Beto, pers. comm. 2011).

## Conflict of values?

Rapid growth and a change of social composition can lead to status distinctions between newcomers and established residents in the community. These distinctions are made in moral[57] and economic worth (cf. Elias and Scotson 2008[1965]:5f), and sometimes combine in values ascribed to patterns of consumption (explained in more depth in a section below). In this section, I explore the perceptions NyC and VyQ hold about each other, and present examples in which these prejudices do not reflect the scenarios I encountered (for example, the high degree of social activism among some of the newcomers).

In Ushuaia, established residents attest to the loss, or lack, of moral values in the newcomers. Likewise, newcomers complain about similar features in established residents. Newcomers suggest that what they perceive as "the local elite" lacks community values and solidarity with struggling migrants who struggle with the local real estate market and with the challenges of settling into a new community. Established residents accuse newcomers of being materialistic, egotistical, and environmentally unfriendly, causing damage to their livelihoods and the community at large. NyC and longer-established migrants suggest that the city is becoming a less safe place and trust is declining. Many research participants compared the present-day situation with their memories of the past, in which Ushuaia was a town "where you could leave your car unlocked". The decline in safety was considered connected with urban growth and the influx of people from the outside. The chief officer of the southern regional police unit reported that, while Tierra del Fuego's crime index was very low, especially when compared to the rest of continental Argentina, it was also on the rise due to the growth in population and "crime habits" of incoming people from the North. Rodrigo suggested that

> "the people born in Tierra del Fuego [feel overwhelmed by developments]. We detect that the majority of delinquents are (...) people recently immigrated from Buenos Aires, which is known for its illegal settlements and such. (...) They're bringing in new crime modalities,

[57] Moral worth refers to the ascribed adherence to ethics and values that are commonly accepted as 'good'. See Tuan who, drawing on the dichotomy of nature versus culture, describes Othering processes as follows: "Outsiders, by implication, belong to a lower order. They are strangers who have not submitted to culture at its best. They are raw, unpredictable, and dangerous" (1986:11). Also see Elias and Scotson who describe different groups of residents regard "themselves as 'better', as superior in human terms" to others (2008[1965]:2).

among which, for example, is scamming and extorting, which is not common in the province."

The strong externalisation of crime affirms and justifies the social division into insiders and outsiders. It also legitimises residential segregation, manifest in both the marginalised informal settlements and the gated community[58] (Low 2003:390; cf. Chapter 6). Crime-talk, rather than a real[59] fear of crime, is grounded in the regional social order and indicative of the social relations among the population (Scott et al. 2012:148). The ascription of VyQ carries a moral stigma that implies that the (housing and economic) struggles encountered are due to the group's moral failures. In turn, this is used to justify the dominant group's ostracizing of them (cf. Snow and Anderson 1993). Crime and delinquency are important elements used in constructing established-outsider relations[60] (Elias and Scotson 2008[1965]). This is visible on an interpersonal and on a structural level, as the following comment by Vicente, a social worker who migrated to Ushuaia from the North in the 1970s, shows:

> "The police, every time there's a murder, a crime, the first thing they do is they fixate on the barrios. Because it's common, it's the common sense that says, he who did that, it must be someone who lacks money, who is poor, who is chorro[61] – there, in the settlements. But it's just as likely that he lives here, in the centre, in an apartment around here."

Vicente made the criticism that police (and civilians in general) equated crime with poverty and operated on the belief that if there were no unmet needs, crimes, such as the high-profile

---

[58] Unlike in Setha Low's case study about the increase in gated communities in the United States, where "neighbours are fleeing deteriorating urban neighbourhoods with increased ethnic diversity and petty crimes, concluding that the neighbourhood is 'just not what it used to be'" (2003:401), in Ushuaia, safety considerations do not yet play a defining role in the establishment of privileged, segregated living. It is rather the unrestricted access to the landscape (the gated community is situated at the shore of the Beagle Channel and allows both direct access to the beach and a panoramic view of the channel, the town, and the mountains behind it) that drives it. Like in Low's case study, "adding walls, gates, and guards produces a landscape that encodes class relations and residential (…) segregation more permanently in the built environment" (2003:387).

[59] Note here that this does not dispute that there may, in the case of Ushuaia, still be residents who experience fear of crime regardless, i.e. their perception of fear is real.

[60] Based on the insider/outsider concept, Elias and Scotson (2008[1965]) introduce this term in their suburban community study of Winston Parva (an assumed name) in the UK. The study presented and analysed the division between residents who had been living in the community longer (the established group) than newcomers (a group denominated as outsiders).

[61] Derogative term for men, describing a delinquent or a person of poor integrity; someone who steals.

murder of a local taxi driver in 2010, would not happen. The general viewpoint, Vicente suggested, was to associate the informal settlements with violence and danger, and to discriminate against their inhabitants. The persecution of delinquents for robbery, drug-related offenses and other kinds of violence targeted the already marginalised members of society, but similar crimes committed by the more affluent did not seem to be prosecuted:

> "To doctors, lawyers, businessmen, shop owners, they don't do anything to those [on drug-related charges]. They take [the drug] away from the lawyer, and then, [nothing]."

Informal settlers often disputed the outsiders' perspective of them living in lawless, aggressive and antisocial places. They understood themselves to be the more community-minded and solidarity-based alternative to mainstream Ushuaian society, whom they perceived as closed-off and individualistic (cf. Chapter 6). Catalina, an informal settler, recounted an interaction with an aggressive neighbour who was involved in a fight between two inhabitants of an informal settlement:

> "We told [the agitator] that's what we don't want on the mountain, to become a society that is so aggressive. Those are the problems we don't want, like when you 'lose'[62] something out of your patio and you say, 'I don't want to live like this', we want to understand that you can still live without putting up fences like they do down there."

The perceptions of informal settlers, mostly VyQ, mirror the opinion that established residents and city dwellers hold of them. On both sides, the changing urban environment and ongoing urban developments are seen to induce changes that weaken sense of community and reduce social capital. Van Aert and Malizia (2010), upon investigating the social capital of Ushuaian society, found that Argentine VyQ are more involved in activities that benefit the community, such as philantropical or political organisations and groups of civic promotion. NyC are more active in sports clubs and neighbourhood associations. The degree of social participation of a migrant rises exponentially with the amount of time since arrival. Recent migrants participate the least in the community, which negatively impacts on their social capital and is likely to infuence their sense of belonging and cognitive attachment to place (van Aert and Malizia 2010:397ff).

[62] The sarcastic tone of voice Catalina employed when saying the word lose signalled that she was referring to having things stolen.

### (a) Disposition and willingness to work

The moral division between NyC and VyQ was maintained by NyC and established VyQ through allegations that the newcomers lacked an industrious disposition and willingness to engage in "hard, honest work". Natalia, who had come to Ushuaia as an amenity migrant in the late 1990s, recounted a story that she had been told by a friend and found to be representative of the situation at hand in Ushuaia. In the story, allegedly true, a Chinese man who lived in a poor northern Argentinean town became rich when he took initiative and started to grow, harvest and export turnips. His enterprise stood in contrast to the rest of the townspeople who, as Natalia explained, "didn't want to grow turnips but were just waiting around for the finca owner to pay them for whatever they were growing". Just like the townspeople in her story who had all the same opportunities but did not take advantage of them because they shied away from hard work, in her perception, newcomers to Ushuaia preferred to depend on the authorities but envied the wealth and success of those who put in the effort and set themselves apart from the rest.

Similarly, Daniel Leguizamón, the Secretary of Tourism, suggested that one reason why the local supply of food items to international cruise ships had not taken off (see Chapter 7) was because of a mindset that suppressed agency and favoured a subsidised lifestyle:

> "That's part of what's lacking in this culture. Tierra del Fuego never perceived itself as an active community; it sees itself as a maintained community. (...) The State gives you a lot of benefits here, and whoever comes here does so to take advantage of that, and not to produce."

Francisca, a migrant government employee, portrayed economic migrants as regarding Ushuaia as a 'milking cow', planning to spend just enough time here to make money and then return to their place of origin. In her opinion, this mindset was generated by the generosity of the State welfare system which sapped workers' initiative and willingness to labour for their income:

> "The thing about the State having to give me absolutely everything... seriously, that just makes me have to do nothing. I don't have to take responsibility and get cracking, dedicate myself... [the State] has to generate all the conditions for me, and I do what I want."

On a global level, Francisca's anti-welfare stance resonates closely with conservative and neoliberal[63] prejudices also found in other industrialised places around the world, especially regarding her antipathy and lack of empathy with migrants. Occassionally mentioned in my interactions in the field, the Global Financial Crisis and its repercussions on economies and societies worldwide have not spared Ushuaia, and can be seen as a catalyst for reactionary thinking, as displayed by research participants like Francisca. On the more specific local level, Francisca suggested that the liberal welfare politics resulted in a lack of ownership over jobs and projects and in a lack of self-responsibility, generating the feeling that one did not need to put effort into one's livelihood. Other voices equally blamed structural shortcomings for the lack of initiative among Ushuaian workers. Natalia disapproved of the multitude of State-subsidized support that the population was eligible for and suggested that this robbed recipients of the incentive to earn their income through 'honest work':

> "There's more than enough work here. What happens is that you have to put in effort. And the people don't want to put in effort – and rightly so... listen, if you are the father of a family, they pay you a subsidy for that, and your wife also doesn't have work but she has three kids, and they pay her for being head of the household, and on top of that they give her food vouchers, an on top of that they give her the kids' clothes because that's what they get when they go to church, and on top of that they get the gas [for heating, cooking, etc.] for free..."

Research participants in stable jobs and from established families did not tire of emphasising that they had nothing against migrants as long as they were willing to work. Eliana, a Facebook user participating in the Ushuaia group, appealed to readers to keep visiting Ushuaia, but discouraged what she perceived as opportunistic economic migrants:

> "Those who want to come to visit PLEASE DON'T STOP, it's BEAUTIFUL! Those who want to come here to live, COME TO WORK AND NOT TO ASK FOR HANDOUTS." (Post on Facebook group Ushuaia, 31/01/2012, translation mine.)

She suggested that newcomers did not understand the feelings established residents had towards their home and the pain they felt at the destruction of landscape by both oblivious newcomers and an inadequate urban organization. Eliana communicated her social status in the

[63] Neoliberalism is here and throughout this thesis understood as a set of economic policies that shift economic control from the public to the private sector, favouring mechanisms such as free trade, minimal government intervention in business (i.e. deregulation), and reduced public expenditure on social services, for example education and health care (see Ortner 2011).

community by emphasising three aspects in her description of self: (a) place of birth, (b) her parents' independence from State support, and (c) their commitment to Ushuaia by staying through economically hard times:

> "I was born here, I am from Ushuaia, I am 21 years old, my parents arrived 27 years ago to look for a new place where they could start over. I'm not saying that it's bad to want to find a better place to start a family or take care of them, but there are many differences in this regard. My parents always worked, and they were in Ushuaia when conditions were very precarious, and they didn't ask that anybody give them anything. Sometimes the people who come here want a job, house, studies, everything NOW and that's bad, because this is not the city of thirty years ago anymore when there were few people and nobody wanted to come here because it was the end of the world where there was NOTHING! and [sic] where they needed people to come and work. Now it is a more formed city." (Post on Facebook group Ushuaia, 30/01/2012. Translation mine, punctuation added for clarity)

Established residents and amenity migrants alike perceive poverty as self-imposed, as those who did not have employment in a place so heavily subsidised and so thoroughly covered by welfare initiatives are imagined to be deliberately unemployed. While those of my research participants who held this view did not deny that some people lived in miserable conditions, they insisted on differentiating this from being poor. Natalia explained that "here, people don't have because they don't feel like doing, not because they cannot". She believed that Bolivians who came to Ushuaia illegally would "obviously find lots of doors locked", and insisted that she personally would neither hire illegal workers nor squat because of moral values that forbade her to take anything she did not work for.

The national imagery of the original Patagonian settlers stands in stark contrast to the characteristics that established residents ascribe to newcomers. In the pre-boom period in the 1940s, when financial incentives in the South were still lacking, a mythology developed around "the typical Patagonian". This myth idealised and promoted the contemporary inhabitants of Patagonia as

> "rough and strong people, tenacious and enterprising, in constant battle with the adversity of the elements, genuine pioneers liberated to the fate of their own effort, they are already aware of what they mean for the national community, they know what the fruit of their labour signifies for the national economy, and they surmise with sure vision the projections that one near-by day the work that they undertake will assume." (Ygobone 1945:14)

Patagonia, in this description, is seen as necessary for the nation's progress. Adverse climate conditions, isolation, and rudimentary infrastructure are used as markers for people's resilience and bravery and contribute to the image of the settlers as strong, admirable, patriotic people.

Patagonia's settlers, according to Ygobone, have transformed the coasts of the austral Atlantic and "the formerly deserted regions of the pre-Andean plateau" (1945:15).

Burgess (1962) sees the idealisation of a particular group of people in a society as part of the first phase of what he calls the societal process that underlies all communities. In this phase, society members organise themselves into a group with a common goal. In Patagonia, this goal would be "nation-making" in accordance with the objective the Argentine nation-state held for its southernmost territory. According to Burgess, members of society are judged against this myth. The second phase, the disorganisation of society, sees weaker groups break away from the dominant group as they cannot fulfil the demands of the existing organisation.[64] Othering, in the sense of ostracising the group breaking away, attempts to maintain the moral order of the dominant group. In Ushuaia, NyC stigmatise VyQ as their behaviour is perceived to threaten the wants of society's majority. A changing population necessitates adjustments to societal norms that dominated the society before rapid urban growth happened and brought an increased influx of people from the outside. Additionally, a leftist[65] organisation of informal settlers and sympathising residents accused the established residents of hypocrisy in their attack on what they perceive as delinquent and disrupting newcomers. Established residents, they pointed out, had begun life in Ushuaia as squatters and initially were struggling, taking land from the indigenous population that they subsequently persecuted and killed. The group questioned the titulation of the early settlers as 'heroic, precursory, and selfless' and demanded the cessation of "separating into pure and impure" (Ajitamos May 2011:2). Immigration loosens social connectivity and common ideals in a formerly tight-knit and more homogeneous community, resulting in the weakening of social capital (van Aert and Malizia 2010:394).

[64] Following this scheme, in Ushuaia, the weaker group (deviant from mainstream organisation) is represented by VyQ. In contrast to Burgess' elaborations, the VyQ did not originally form part of the dominating group, and therefore did not break away from it. In Ushuaia, the weaker group arrives from the outside and is unable to integrate into the existing organisation.

[65] A couple of research participants, both employed by the government, suggested that the organisation mentioned here followed "Communist goals", but declined to further elaborate on this. The community centre in the informal settlement of Las Raíces, described in Chapter 6, for instance, was portrayed by one of these research participants as the place where informal settlers "plan their [political] actions." While it was true that the informal settlers that I spoke to who belonged to the organisation held anti-neoliberalist and collectivist convictions, it was telling to realize that some established residents were prone to generalise and accuse the settlers' organisation of being "communists".

### (b) Urban design and landscape values

In many cases, economic migrants in Ushuaia are temporary residents only. This can be due either to lifestyle reasons – Ushuaia's demanding climate can take its toll on people from warmer regions – or to the migrant's inability to procure work. A near-saturated job market and rising demands on a job applicant's profile add to the inaccessibility of many positions for newcomers with incomplete secondary studies and, Ushuaia being a tourist city, lack of foreign language skills. The lack of access to lucrative or stable employment often contributes to the feeling of transience and impermanence among economic migrants. This in turn can manifest in similarly constructed or presented dwellings. Established residents and amenity migrants accuse economic migrants of not adhering to the city's aesthetic vision. This vision sees Ushuaia as a tourist destination with a certain elevated style of living, including architecture and a protectionist environmental attitude that befitted this goal. Evidence to how highly regarded tourism-appropriate[66] urban aesthetics are, at least among parts of the population, can be found in attempts to manipulate and alter the appearance of the city. An urban planning employee mentioned a city-wide urban beautification project (see Figure 3.1) to me that set out to

> "counter-balance the lack of effort and care emanating from the inhabitants who are temporary and just passing through. These people (...) are trying to achieve wellbeing for their families. They don't have a future vision, which manifests in unpainted, incomplete houses – a lack of commitment." (Jaime, 19/03/12)

This project, introduced in 2010 by the municipality, aimed at improving the visual image of houses and gardens in the city. Targetting house owners and renting residents alike, the project was styled as a competition with cash prizes to be won. It attempted to motivate Ushuaians to improve the aesthetic presentation of their homes, for example through landscaping, painting the exterior of the house, or comparably small changes in construction and set-up. The program, named Ushuaia Magnífica (Magnificent Ushuaia), attempts to "transform a city that has experienced a significant environmental deterioration of a scenic, aesthetic, urbanistic nature" (Municipalidad de Ushuaia 2013).

---

[66] Research participants who argued that the natural landscape was the city's most important touristic asset and who believed that the city should be made (more) attractive for the tourist, would frequently list paved streets, less litter in the city and on the waterfront, well-groomed front yards or gardens, well-kept house fronts, and dwellings constructed with permanent materials (in contrast to the often hastily erected huts or houses in the informal settlements that use a variety of available materials of often questionable quality) as necessary components of a tourism-appropriate city image.


**Figure 3.1** The winning house of the beautification campaign 2010/11 above and 2012/13 below (Source: Municipality of Ushuaia 2013).

Urban development schemes and proposals to transform urban landscapes "typically serve the interests of political elites and monied interests" (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003:20; cf. Chapter 4). In this case, the aesthetization of Ushuaia aims at producing valuable space for tourism. This goal expresses the aspirations of the dominant, upper-middle class. The working class, in contrast, dominated by economic migrants (VyQ and TaF), remains largely cut off from the mostly stable[67], well-paying jobs in tourism. Urban developments gradually remove the working class further from the city's envisioned goal to increase its touristic appeal. For example, the numerous new high-rise apartments built by the private sector target the more affluent middle classes and remain too costly for many economic migrants to rent, let alone buy. This leaves them little option but to seek shelter in informal settlements. Also, as enterprises and buildings aimed at consumption (i.e. the mall, the casino, paid attractions) replace public spaces, formerly free-to-use places are replaced by cost-intensive activities, which many economic migrants and recent newcomers cannot afford and are therefore less likely to frequent. Often costly transformations that campaigns such as Ushuaia Magnífica aim at are unattainable for cash-strapped migrants, especially informal settlers, and ultimately increase the aesthetic and moral divide between the haves and the have-nots.

[67] For a deeper discussion about working conditions and the impact of seasonality on tourism employees, see Chapter 5.

Economic migrants, already lingering at the margins of the tourism sector and the physical layout of the city, are further ostracised by stigma that ascribe to them indifference to Ushuaia's biggest economic asset: landscape. Landscape is one of the main factors that draw amenity migrants and tourists to the city. Julio Lovece, ex-Secretary of Tourism, suggested that economic migrants put a considerable strain on the city:

> "If a big percentage of the population lives in the city only because they have to, because they come here only to work, and once they have managed to save money, they return to their place of origin, they don't really like the place where they live. That generates a deterioration of the landscape (...). People don't look after the place where they live, and that generates a very big damage to Ushuaia."

Many NyC I spoke to generally accuse VyQ of a lack of place attachment and a sense of place that seemingly diverges from the tourism-oriented sense of place that values the aesthetic qualities of landscape. This often becomes a way to justify the VyQ's increasing exclusion from the tourist industry. Among established residents, it was commonly believed that, when in 1972 the industrial Law 19.640 was put in action, the migrants who started moving south were predominantly interested only in profit and failed to see or care about the natural landscape that Ushuaia had to offer. This clash in perspectives still divides the population into two camps, NyC and VyQ, today. Economic migrants, in contrast to amenity migrants, were often automatically classified as belonging to the anti-environmental fraction (cf. Chapter 6). Established residents identified the alleged environmental disposition of inhabitants by scrutinising their housing choices. Pablo, a lawyer and former amenity migrant, pointed out that local architecture differed in respect to the kinds of materials used. He differentiated between allegedly inappropriate materials like concrete and appropriate natural materials like wood, which he perceived to be congruent with traditional styles of construction.

The desire to uphold and defend "the real Ushuaia" is indicative of the position the dominant social group holds. Contested spaces create opposing parties who seek to fix the identity of a place

> "by laying claim to some particular moment/location in time-space when the definition of the area and the social relations dominant within it were to the advantage of that particular claimant group." (Massey 1994:169)

In the case of NyC and established residents, the historical moment advantageous to their claims on a place identity is the period before the economic boom in the 1970s began. The VyQ on the other hand claim a changing economic and socio-cultural environment as the true essence of

Ushuaia, as the city was made through invasion[68] and immigration. From the perspective of the established, ruling socio-economic class, the placemaking process – in this view, tied to a point in time when a definite place identity was established – is finished and the legitimate inhabitants have been defined. Working-class newcomers or those with diverging views on landscape and lifestyle are excluded from this definition. They do not belong.

At the same time, those of my research participants who identified as NyC or established VyQ held more differentiated opinions. Natalia, who came to Ushuaia as an amenity migrant in the late 1990s, sympathised with an environmentally conscious mindset and condemned the tree-felling and environmentally polluting practices in the outskirts of the city. She was aware of a prevalent hypocrisy in this stance, as she believed that an environmentally responsible lifestyle in Ushuaia was impeded by the use of environmentally questionable mainstream technology and procedures. Using salt to clear streets of snow and ice, the excessive number of cars in use, and the intensive use of artificial lights due to a scarcity of natural light for much of the year, were not immediately compatible with an environmentally friendly lifestyle. A similar ambiguity was expressed by Emilio Urruty, a local journalist and writer, who admitted that, while he had mixed feelings about the occupation of natural spaces, he was aware of Ushuaia's history and the fact that forest was cleared from the earliest settlements onwards (La Voz Fueguina 2011:17). Notwithstanding these grey areas of the argument, many of the established residents I talked to insisted that the differing attitudes towards the natural environment from an aesthetic and protective perspective were what distinguished them from the newcomers.

[68] As discussed earlier in this chapter, this term refers to the historic seizing of land through white missionaries and settlers. Some of my research participants similarly referred to the period after the late 1970s as an 'invasion', when migrants followed the state-induced economic opportunities and 'usurped' land that still abounded.

### (c) Solidarity

> "I have, I have, I have so much more/ You have everything that I don't have but you don't have my heart/ You have everything to be happy but you don't know how to share/ I have nothing, the freedom, I enjoy life with my friends/ I have nothing, my freedom, enjoying all that life gives me/ I enjoy the sun, I enjoy the sea, I enjoy the things of life."
>
> (Part of a song by an informal settler)[69]

While hanging out in an informal settlement (see Chapter 6) in the hills above Ushuaia, one of the settlers, Pablo, played a song to me on his guitar in which he spoke of the merits of solidarity and non-material pleasures over a focus on material possessions. He introduced it as a protest song that portrayed being a migrant in Tierra del Fuego. When he stopped, he said wistfully:

> "It's a bigger fight than you can imagine. It's a fight against individualism. Some are more [individualistic], others less. Society is the extension of what we are within. If you're an egotist and you don't care about anything, society will be the same."

Social fragmentation, individualisation, and isolation were the buzzwords at the Second Festival Aji, a left-wing autonomous gathering in Ushuaia in January of 2011. The social group was made up of mostly newcomers, the majority being economic migrants and informal settlers, who disagreed with the social division in Ushuaian society. During my year of fieldwork, it was mostly people living at the physical and economic margins of local society who demanded solidarity. At the same time, settlers in the informal settlements who were better organised than others, experienced

---

[69] This untitled song was sung to me by Pablo, who accompanied himself on his guitar, at his and Catalina's place in the informal settlement they live in. Pablo performed a total of three songs spontaneously, while we were waiting for Catalina to finish a household task she was doing, and allowed me to record them. He mentioned that he had performed this song before, and played back an audio recording of it that he had saved on his cell phone after his performance. In the original, the song's lyrics are as follows: "Hola mamá, yo estoy acá/ donde el frío invierno me congela cada día un poquito más/ un poquito más/ Hola mamá, yo estoy acá/ en el fin del mundo donde nunca imaginé llegar/ donde nunca imaginé estar/ (hola)/ Pero la vida me trajo, también el trabajo/ y ahora sé muy bien que yo no estoy de paso/ yo no estoy de paso, no, no no no, no no no/ Hola papá, yo estoy acá/ te cuento que no soy el único, hay miles más/ hacienda patria, viviendo patria/ [Chorus] Sin luz, sin gas, sin privacidad/ sin luz, sin gas, pero con mucha identidad/ con muchas ganas de progresar/ con muchas ganas de progresar/ Yo no estoy de paso, yo no estoy de paso/ a vos te digo, político zapato [colloquialism for zarpado; i.e. mediocre, transient] [Chorus ends]/ Estoy en la tierra de los Onas/ los verdaderos dueños de esta historia/ donde esta historia se despluma/ de ayer se despluma hoy abasellando los derechos de las personas/ [Chorus] Yo tengo, yo tengo, yo tengo mucho más/ Tú tienes todo lo que no tengo yo pero no tienes mi corazón/ Tú tienes todo para ser feliz pero no sabes lo que es compartir/ Yo tengo nada, la libertad/ disfruto la vida de los amigos/ Yo tengo nada, mi libertad, disfruto de todo lo que me da la vida/ disfruto del sol, disfruto del mar, disfruto de las cosas de la vida."

the most solidarity among economic migrants (see Chapter 6). Pablo said that the majority of informal settlers strived to live like the mainstream society

> "down there in the city. But, we're not that individualistic any more like they are down there. We have to get out of our bubble. Here, people have started to rebel, they have started saying `I don't want to live like that, I don't want what the neighbours have.´"

Neighbourhood associations were founded and strengthened. Inhabitants organised and, as they called it, activated themselves. This increase in social capital and social activism stands in contrast to the image of VyQ and economic migrants that is prevalent among NyC. Excessive materialism, in addition to environmental indifference and lack of work morale, is another quality ascribed to economic migrants. In Ushuaia, one of Argentina's wealthiest cities, where average salaries surpass those of other places in Argentina and South America, and where consumption opportunities abound, conspicuous consumption dominates the public image. Natalia, a government employee in her 40s, suggested that

> "good people are hard to find in this city. Everything is about having brand name clothing. Have you noticed the posh new cars they have here, four wheel drives and Audis? Even though they don't have money, they want to look like they do. People in this city say 'Let's go to the mountains to ski' because it's expensive. It's all about consuming here."

When talking about the local informal settlements, established residents commonly pointed out the visual mismatch between run-down, makeshift informal housing and gleaming four-wheel drives in front of them. Patterns of consumption form a tool to separate residents into social groups. NyC and established VyQ classified those who conspicuously consumed even though they allegedly could not afford it as people who were new to big amounts of money, namely economic migrants from poorer Argentine or foreign areas. Maria, an amenity migrant in her late thirties, understood conspicuous consumption to be the main part of the social processes that resulted in ongoing immigration to Ushuaia:

> "The first thing [new migrants] do is to buy a truck, the imported one... the telly, the stereo... people who didn't have anything in another place, they obviously buy stuff that they can take [away with them]. That's okay – but, if you return to your house, to your village with a truck that today costs ninety or a hundred thousand dollars – [villagers will say] 'Eh, how neat, look at that – I'm going to Ushuaia too.'"

The materialistic focus of many residents in Tierra del Fuego, spoiled by high wages and an extensive welfare system, was perceived as the barrier to genuine solidarity and a sense of community among inhabitants. Mauricio, an economic migrant from Chubut, suggested that in Ushuaia, "there is no community. There's a lot of materialism here. [It is] very difficult to make

friends. Your worth is defined by what you have." This perception falls in line with the differential control of resources and access to power that contested spaces entail (cf. Low and Lawrence- Zúñiga 2003:18). In Ushuaia, newcomers find themselves at the geographical and socio-economic margins of a society that regards them with suspicion. As the struggle for resources becomes more pressing, boundaries are drawn between residents who have the means to legally rent or own a place and residents who for mainly economic reasons are forced to squat. The aspirations of many established residents, who value their surroundings for the aesthetic qualities and touristic potential, differ from those of the newcomers, many of whom regard their surroundings from a mostly utilitarian perspective. Materialism, or the focus on economic values above other values, is an accusation that is employed by both established residents and newcomers. It is, as such, another boundary used to differentiate one group from the other.

## Conclusion

Contemporary Ushuaian society demonstrates that, when conflict ensues over resources following a period of intense population growth, society can split into opposing camps, each believing that the other party (them) does not "deserve resources" because of moral shortcomings, but we do. In the wake of this competition for resources and jobs, discrimination ensues. Territorial dispute can turn into xenophobic discourse. NyC judge themselves and VyQ against a romanticised, mythical norm – the ideal Patagonian who is strong, self-sufficient, and independent. Despite the community's maintained[70] status, NyC still identify with their ancestors' characteristics, and judge the VyQ to fall short of this ideal. Stigmatisation of the "usurping, dangerous, abusive" newcomer indicates the established society's self-perception and its imposed societal norms (cf. Burgess 1962).

Distinctions between residents in Ushuaia are made on grounds of class (manifested in economic affluence or poverty) and ethnicity ("Bolivians"). Tierra del Fuego, for decades a region governed and maintained by Buenos Aires, and still subsidised in part by national contributions, forms a largely affluent society. Impoverished migrants arriving in the city are regarded with suspicion by established residents, and different levels of wealth divide society. Belonging to one of the two categories is determined through (perceived) emotional affinity to landscape. Paasi suggests

[70] When research participants spoke of Ushuaia's maintained status, they were referring to the external funds and subsidies that were and are being used in Tierra del Fuego's manufacturing industry and government positions (see Chapter 1).

that "[b]elief in deep, fixed links between a specific group and a territory may lead to processes of social exclusion and 'othering'" (2002:138). In Ushuaia, NyC claim to belong to the land by birth and affinity, and to take care of their natural environment. In contrast, they identify VyQ as the 'Other', neither born in similar environments nor interested in furthering the region's long-term economic and environmental wellbeing. Loyalty to a place, an essential notion of belonging (Lovell 1998:1), is used by established residents as a tool for denying VyQ full membership in the community. VyQ are seen as temporary residents only, and processes from the past, which saw mass emigration during an economic downturn, are used as indicative for VyQ's uprootedness and lack of loyalty to the place. The battle around contested spaces in Ushuaia attaches itself to a reading of belonging as place-bound. By evoking a collective memory of "the real Ushuaia" and locating it in the past, NyC attempt to freeze moments of the past and present them as the true essence of the place (cf. Massey 1994b:111). Constructions of collective memory of the past are always contestable (Lovell 1998:6), and the battle over contested spaces has to be understood as "power struggles over the right to define particular parts of space-time" (Massey 1994b:116).

The definition of social identities entails a normative element of power (Paasi 2002:146), which in Ushuaia manifests in disputes over the use and shaping of landscape (cf. Chapter 4 and 5). The hegemonic reading of the place sees Ushuaia as a tourist city. Administrative employees in decision-making positions plan for changes to the landscapes and the built environment that go against the definitions and ideals of other residents. Newcomers who erect housing in the forest above Ushuaia do so largely because of need, at times out of preference, and occasionally greed (see Chapter 6) and are denied social affiliation to the domineering social community because of this. Established residents voice their concerns about the direction that the financial focus and alleged environmental indifference of the economic migrants would take the city. Environmental deterioration through informal settlements would weaken Ushuaia's touristic appeal, while strengthening competing touristic destinations such as Puerto Williams and the Chilean Patagonia. Ushuaia was compared to Río Grande, the city's industry-heavy neighbouring city, and several research participants expressed their apprehension about Ushuaia potentially coming to resemble Río Grande.

Those research participants who identified as newcomers or VyQ had similar suspicions about an industrial restructuring of the city but interpreted them differently. They often believed that the established residents wanted to make Ushuaia into a tourism-focused mono-economy by relocating the manufacturing industry to Río Grande: "An elite wants to maintain Ushuaia as it is" (Pablo, pers. comm. 2012). The idea of transferring employment opportunities out of Ushuaia met

with resistance among economic migrants. They accused established residents of wanting to clear the city of TaF, those economic migrants who relied on employment in the manufacturing industry. An online-user, in response to a heated debate around the creation of a gated community in Ushuaia, commented that he was

> "sick of those shitty Fueguinos who arrived a day earlier and want for us poor to leave Ushuaia beautiful and with flowers so that the tourists go for walks and take pictures of the orchards and flower beds." (Crónicas Fueguinas 2010)

The following theoretical conclusions help to understand and recapitulate the ethnographic information presented earlier in this chapter. The concept of NyC and VyQ combines conflicting notions of use of space and sense of place in Ushuaian society. Ushuaia is a prime example of the loosening of what in the social sciences is called a tight connection between community and local place. It is a place

> "where the internal social relations lack the kind of coherence which is said to underlie [the traditional] notion of community." (Massey 1994b:110)

This characterization of place tries to ascribe it a single, fixed identity. It defines the place as "bounded and enclosed, characterized by [its] own internal history, and through [its] differentiation from 'outside'" (Massey 1994b:114). Instead of reading a place as static, basing its identity on past (imagined or real) events and memories, it needs to be understood as having been formed through social interrelations. These social relations, dynamic and subject to change and restructuring, impede a singular and fixed reading of a place (Massey 1994b:115f). Following this notion, a definition of place

> "cannot be made through counterposition against what lies outside; rather it must be made precisely through the particularity of the interrelations with the outside." (Massey 1994b:117)

Ushuaian identity must be seen as fluid, encompassing both established residents and newcomers, whose contrasting perspectives meet at the intersection of those difficulties that a changing urban development poses. As such, these contrasting perspectives partially conflict with the officially sanctioned definition of place in Ushuaia as a tourist commodity, and as a community focused on Ushuaia's Antarctic gateway function.

# 4 Tourism, landscape, and urban development

Ushuaia "sells like hot buns", as a research participant who worked at the local airport and witnessed the numerous daily incoming flights put it. As tourists visit Argentina's southernmost city, they arrive with various images about Patagonia and Ushuaia in mind, informed to varying degrees by local place promotion. These images may differ from those of residents and urban developers, who have different perceptions of and relations to the city they live in and the natural environment they are surrounded by. Landscape and notions about how it can or should be used are a focal point in these images, and differ significantly among all involved parties. As landscape "provides a wider context in which notions about place and community can be situated" (Stewart and Strathern 2003:3), it is a useful concept to better understand the socio-cultural composition of a multi-faceted community as well as the impact tourism has on it. In this chapter, I explore Ushuaia's tourism industry and the ways in which tourism, placemaking and landscape are connected. I show how landscape, the most important tool for the Ushuaian tourism trade, is the most vulnerable element in urban development processes. At the same time, it serves as one of the main measures for Othering, as the question on how to use and shape the natural environment is contended among residents. I show how different parts of the population have divergent understanding of place and conflicting place-based needs, the consequences of which influence placemaking processes and residents' place attachment.

## Tourism in Ushuaia

Over the past two decades, Ushuaia has dramatically improved its touristic infrastructure. The local international airport Malvinas Argentinas was built in 1997, with further modifications undertaken in 2009 (Secretaría de Turismo 2011b:3). The harbour was extended in 1999, almost doubling its capacity and functions (Dirección Provincial de Puertos 2009). Between 2000 and 2010, 149 accommodation units have been established in Ushuaia, 33 of which have since ceased to exist (Secretaría de Turismo 2011a:13). Another 92 accommodation establishments with 2,052 additional beds are currently being built or planned (Secretaría de Turismo 2011a:6), doubling the present number of beds available. The number of local travel agencies doubled between 2004 and 2009 (Secretaría de Turismo 2011a).

The Secretariat of Tourism (a subsector of the municipality of Ushuaia) emphasises the benefits tourism has on the employment, infrastructure, commercial, and development sectors of the city. In 2009, more than 6,400 people were employed in jobs related to tourism, out of a total of

26,784 employed people in Ushuaia (Secretaría de Turismo 2011c:19f). Counting all direct employment in tourism (see Figure 4.1), particularly restaurants, hotels and tourism-related businesses, 24% of all local workers are employed in this sector. When adding in jobs indirectly related to tourism (Secretaría de Turismo 2011d:7), in particular construction (10%) and transport, storage and communications (5.2%), this number increases to 53% (Secretaría de Turismo 2011c:5).

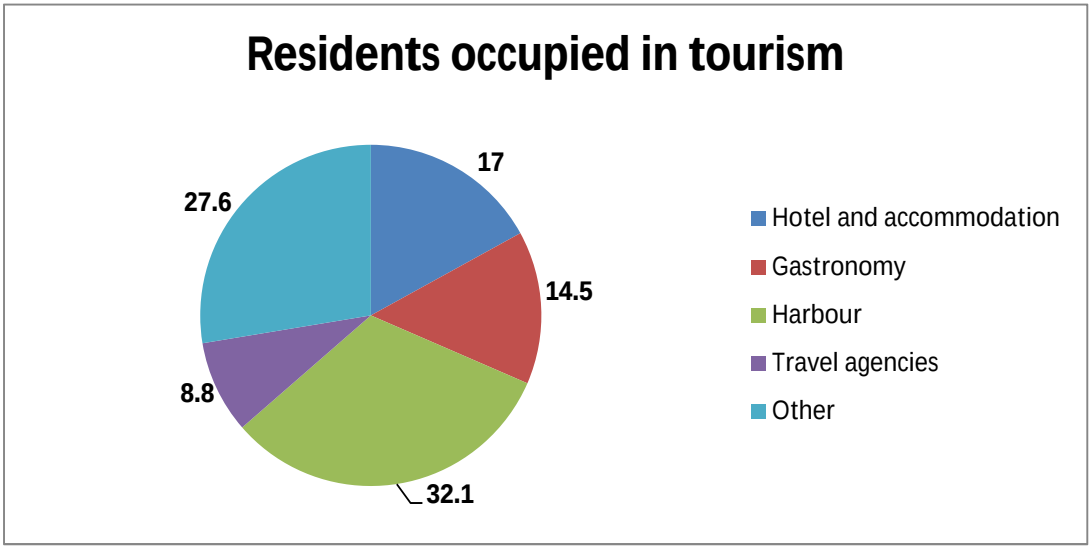



**Figure 4.1** Breakdown of tourism-related employment in Ushuaia (adapted from Secretaría de Turismo 2011c:5).

Unlike other employment sectors, tourism has proven to be resilient with regard to external market fluctuations. After the Argentine economic recession[71] between 1998 and 2001, tourism was the first industry in the city to recover. During the 2009 season, the revenue generated from tourism-related business reached 1,300,000 pesos per day (approximately US$ 228,000) (Secretaría de Turismo 2011e:4-5). These numbers indicate that tourism may become the principal economic activity for the future development of Ushuaia (Secretaría de Turismo 2011c:4).

However, Argentina's economic depression together with the worldwide financial recession had an impact on tourism numbers. While the number of visits reached a peak in 2008 with a growth of 13.2% compared to the previous year, they declined from then on (Figure 4.2). The year 2009 brought a decrease in total tourist numbers of 3.5%; 2010 had a further decrease of 3.2%, and numbers in 2010 decreased by 1.2% (Secretaría de Turismo 2012b:4).

[71] For a synopsis of recent Argentine economic development, see Michigan State University 2012.

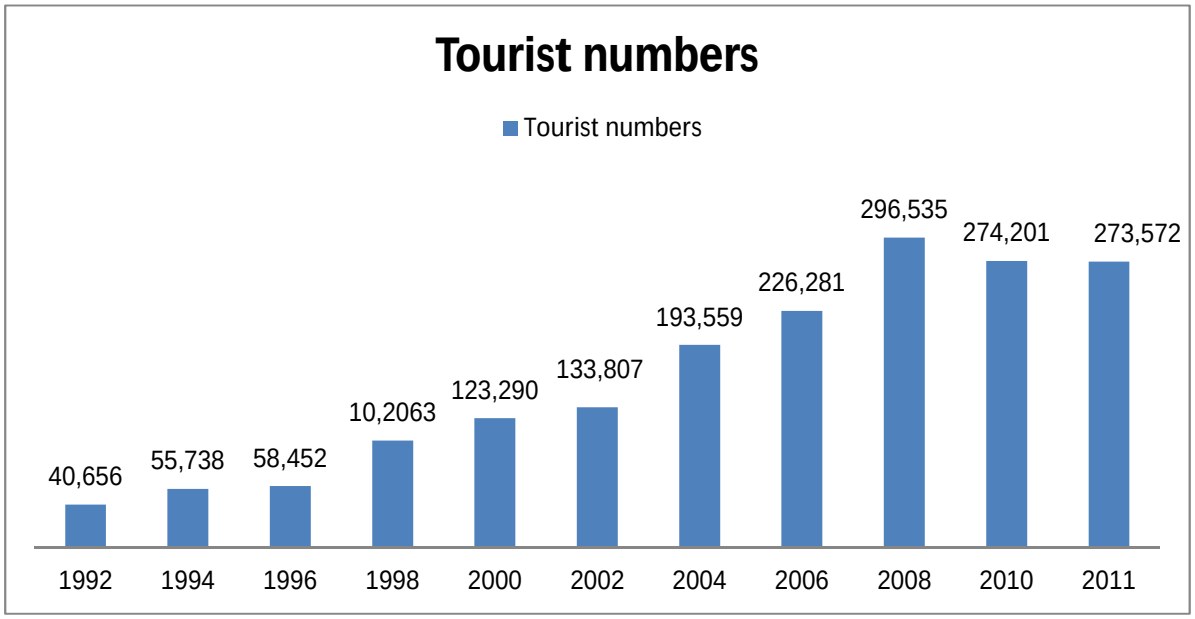



**Figure 4.2** Tourism numbers from 1992-2012 (data adapted from Secretaría de Turismo 2011d and Secretaría de Turismo 2011e).

In 2009, there were 144 hotels (including hostels and B&Bs) with a total capacity of 5,242 beds in Ushuaia. The mean hotel occupancy rate was at 57.4% for 2009 (Secretaría de Turismo 2011a:2), at 52% in 2010 and at 51.1% in 2011 (Secretaría de Turismo 2012b:3). The planned addition of almost one hundred new accommodation establishments despite the currently relatively low mean occupancy rates indicates that the urban planning and tourism authorities believe that, in the long term, the sector will recover from its slight downturn and continue to grow.

A total of 61.8% of all tourists stay at least one night in Ushuaia, almost half (47.5%) of those being Argentines (Secretaría de Turismo 2011a:12). The overall mean stay of tourists is 2.58 nights in summer season, and 3.26 nights in winter season. This points to a less visible direct benefit of cruise ship tourism, as cruise ship passengers remain in the city a mere three hours on average while their ships load up on provisions and fuel (Secretaría de Turismo 2006:4; also see Jensen and Daverio 2004:102). In 2009, cruise ship arrivals accounted for 38.2% of all arrivals to Ushuaia (Secretaría de Turismo 2011b:2).

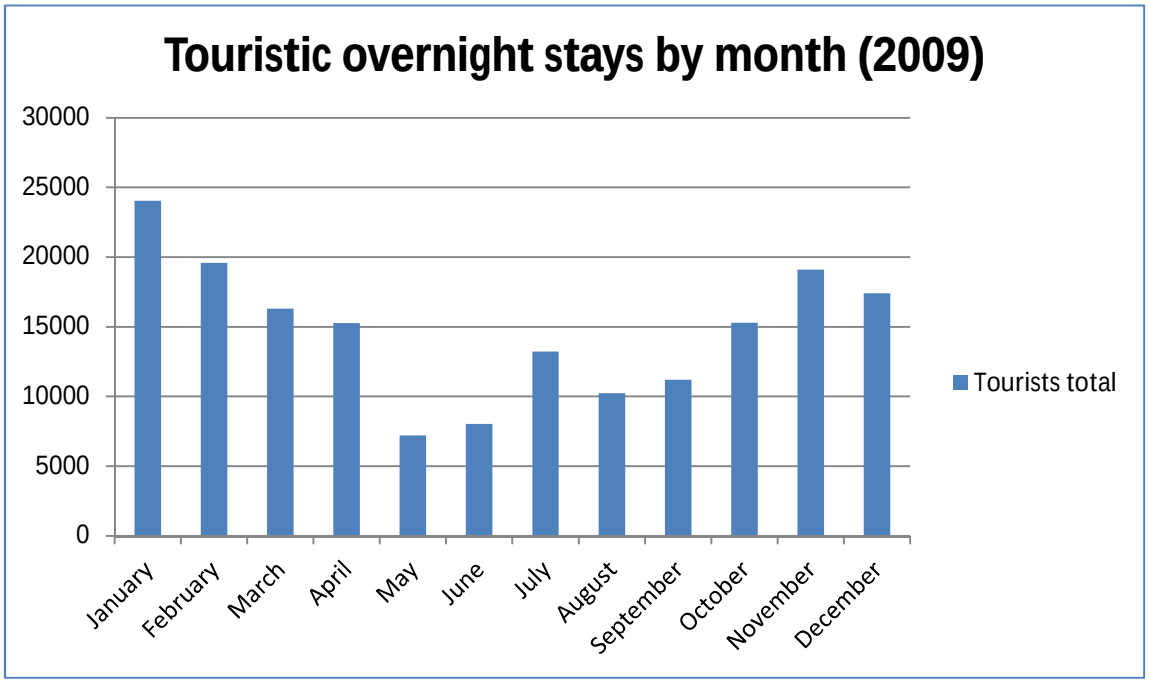



**Figure 4.3** Chart depicting the number of touristic overnight stays in Ushuaia (Source: Secretaría de Turismo 2011a:8).

There are profound differences between the winter and summer seasons in Ushuaia. The summer of 2011 saw a total of 206,951 visitors in Ushuaia and a 62% hotel occupancy rate. Ushuaia had a mean of 1,150 tourists per day in the summer season (Secretaría de Turismo 2012a). In the winter season (between July and September), there were 42,000 visitors with a mean of 467 tourists per day. The mean hotel occupancy rate was 51.3% (Secretaría de Turismo 2011f). Overall, in the high season, the majority (75%) of clients in accommodation establishments are foreigners, while the trend reverses in the low season, when more than half of the tourists (54%) are residents (Secretaría de Turismo 2011c:2). In the winter months of June, July, and August, most of the visitors to Ushuaia are Argentine (mean 70.66%, based on data from 2007) (Secretaría de Turismo 2011a:8).

Although the overall numbers of visitors are lower in the winter season as cruise ship tourists fall away, the city very much profits from its winter tourists. Every Argentine tourist spends twice the amount of money per day (1562 pesos) compared to a foreign tourist (983 pesos) (Secretaría de Turismo 2011c). This figure is explained by the fact that in summer season, when every third to fourth visitor is a cruise ship tourist, visits are time-limited according to ship itineraries, and fewer visitors stay overnight, both of which create less revenue.


**Figure 4.4** Aerial view onto Ushuaia, with a cruise ship anchored in the harbour (Source: Secretaría de Turismo de la Municipalidad de Ushuaia/ Andrés Camacho).

The harbour plays a crucial role in Ushuaia's tourism (see Figure 4.4). It services four kinds of vessels: (1) cruise and expedition ships to Antarctica; (2) international cruise ships; (3) small-sized vessels, particularly catamarans for Beagle Channel tours; and (4) cargo, fishing, military, and refrigeration vessels. The pier has the capacity to host three big and three medium-sized cruise ships. The cost of supplying a ship ranges between US$ 8,000 and 15,000, and local agents have 'almost all of the capacity to do all of the supplying' (Secretaría de Turismo 2011c:5).

Urban development and the municipality's focus on tourism extend to the harbour. There are plans to expand the pier by 400 metres. This would extend the port's hosting capacity to seven or eight cruise ships at a time (Secretaría de Turismo 2011g:5). These plans include the separation of the cargo pier and the tourist pier, both for spatial and security reasons. The port's only other commercial rivals are Puerto Argentino in the Malvinas/Falkland Islands and the port in Punta Arenas. Expanding the port's function is part of the government's agenda to strengthen Ushuaia's Antarctic profile.

## Space and Place: Landscape in Anthropology

Ushuaia's touristic infrastructure has been improved and extended over the past few decades. The upsurge of Antarctic tourism has been met with an according recalibration of the city's touristic outlook. With the tourism market in mind, the placemaking strategies of the city's governmental and touristic institutions began to market the landscape in relation to its touristic potential and the

region's proximity to the Antarctic. In this and the following section, I explore the significance of space and place in Anthropology and examine the differing meanings landscape holds for residents in Ushuaia, taking into account aspects of functionality and history.

The concept of landscape is derived from a painterly origin in 16th century England. Landscape, i.e. the visible features of an area of land, was first recognized and then appreciated as such because it reminded the viewer of a painted landscape, which in that period became more widely used in works of art (Hirsch 1995:2). Westerners' interest in landscape, and their ability to appreciate it, is rooted in the post-Renaissance idea that nature and humans are separate entities. By no longer understanding the human as a part of nature in God's creation, a more secular idea of nature emerged (Hirsch 1995:6). Emotions that had once been reserved for God – awe, rapture, delight, fear – could now be expressed in one's engagement with wild nature (Hirsch 1995:8). Today, appreciation of nature is arguably strongest in cultures that, through technology and development, have distanced themselves from the non-anthropogenic landscape, turning it into a commodified 'aesthetic luxury' for individuals: Nature becomes the antidote to an increasingly hostile urban environment (Bell and Lyall 2002:16-7). Besides other factors such as economic opportunity, the Patagonian landscape appeals to residents, (amenity) migrants and tourists also because it evokes images of history, serenity, and an 'original' state.

Anthropologists examine landscape as a constructed series of place-based meanings in two ways: as an 'objective' descriptor of the place that people live and move in, and as the 'subjective' way that people give meaning to their cultural and physical surroundings (Hirsch 1995:1; Knudsen et al. 2012:201). As such, landscape can be divided into space and place. The initially visible component of landscape refers to the geometrical concept of space, while place is produced through local practice (Hirsch 1995:2). Individuals are placed within a physical environment from where they interact with others within their social environment through their remembered experiences (Stewart and Strathern 2003:1). Landscape is inextricably linked with identity. External factors such as economic, political and social events impact on perceived visions of landscape and the perceived placement of people within these settings. Readings of landscape, in short, depend on the way people place themselves in their environment (Stewart and Strathern 2003:2).

But as landscape is defined by individuals and groups of people, it becomes clear that there cannot be one singular, absolute landscape. Instead, there are "a series of related, if contradictory, moments – perspectives – which cohere in what can be recognized as a singular form: landscape as a cultural process" (Hirsch 1995:23). Landscapes have to be understood as "dynamic domains shaped

by myriad environmental, socioeconomic, and political forces" (Matejowsky 2008:292-3). With this in mind, it is not surprising that in Ushuaia, there exist views on place and landscape that conflict with each other.

## Landscape and urban development

Ushuaia no longer is a place with a relatively homogeneous population. As the population grows and becomes diversified in socio-cultural attitudes and expectations, lifestyles, and cultural heritage, diverse understandings and uses of landscape emerge. Urban planning is facing new challenges in reconciling these different perspectives, with the viewpoints and expectations of investors, developers, tourists, and the various socio-cultural groups of inhabitants varying. Weber suggests that "the very materiality of the built environment sets off struggles between use and exchange values, between those with emotional attachments to place and those without those attachments" (2002:172).

Levels of emotional attachment to Ushuaia as a place vary among its inhabitants. Some of the residents' ways of looking at landscape are shaped by environmental concerns and emotions (cf. Carrier 2003:212). Native Fueguinos and amenity migrants describe a sense of loss with regard to the advancing urbanisation, and of concern when speaking about informal settlements and the decimated forest. Mateo, a native Fueguino in his seventies, considered the real Ushuaia to be how it was in the 1950s when there were "a hundred, hundred-and-thirty [inhabitants. The main component of town was San Martín, and] everything else was bush". His house, now surrounded by other buildings, used to be far removed from all other houses. Mateo acknowledged that life in Ushuaia was rough a few decades ago, with none of the comforts ("bakeries") and securities ("doctors") it has today and started to develop from the 1970s on in his account. Ushuaia had no shops; people lived on meat and the produce from their fields. A military ship with supplies came every three months. Like other research participants who grew up in Ushuaia, Mateo emphasized the struggle against the rough surroundings that characterised life in an underdeveloped township in a remote corner of a nation. Life began to get easier around 1970 with the more frequent arrival of ships and planes, bringing with them fresh produce, clothes, and other consumer items. While Mateo admitted that this was a relief in many ways, he also felt that the ongoing urban development and the increasing urban comforts were eating away at Ushuaia's essence, irrevocably changing the overall picture, the landscape. Interestingly, Mateo uses a touristic object, the postcard, to explain his point, thereby equating the touristic perspective with his own:

> "The postcards of Ushuaia used to be more beautiful then. Now we are taking away the entire panorama. Town was paradise. You saw trees – a bit of everything. Not like today, see, with big buildings... They have worked the earth, they have thrown the earth up, they have felled the trees, the flowers, everything."

The rough circumstances and the harsh climate saw only the tough stay on and try to make a living, for which they were rewarded later on when business took off and quality of life for many increased. Back then, however, as Mateo saw it, "the delicate ones left".

The struggles endured in the past shape how many native Fueguinos construct their self-image and distinguish between other groups of society, intimately tying the environment with their identity. The effort of making a living against the forces of nature, carving out a space for themselves amidst adversity, and resisting the lure of an easier existence elsewhere is a defining factor in their self-understanding. It stands in contrast to the aspired comfortable existence that seems to inform contemporary urban development: Previously wild, untouched, or inaccessible places are conquered, formed, and commodified. Native Fueguinos often feel that they earned their place by staying through the hard times, and meet the more recently migrated population who come because of Ushuaia's amenities with distrust. Long-term residents that struggled through local economic downturns such as the mass closure of factories after the 2001 national economic collapse argue similarly, distinguishing themselves from those who left when life became less comfortable. The view of place that native Fueguinos hold is deeply shaped by history and urban development. Their own experiences and perceptions are guided by memories of the time when cars were introduced, the first of many tourist hotels were built, informal settlements encroached on the hills, the water was sullied, and the quarry created. As shown in Chapter 3, the Othering processes in Ushuaia are fuelled and shaped by differing perceptions of and relationships to the landscape, and with that, necessarily also with differing levels of place attachment.

Lovece (2011), an Ushuaian historian, envisions a landscape uninterrupted and uncorrupted by human development. Speaking about the famous paintings by Van Gogh, Monet, and Da Vinci, all of which include depictions of landscape as a crucial element of their impact, Lovece says,

> "I have been trying to imagine which would have been the inspiration or the result had the [landscape] observed by these artists been different, had it had other elements that would have distorted this reality or image. If instead of mills or trees they had been transmission towers or containers." (Lovece 2011b)

For Lovece, landscapes shape those they surround. Landscapes are linked to the collective memory. Landscapes require a certain mindset to appreciate them, a feat in which they resemble

the paintings evoked in his article. Lovece suggests that this mindset is endangered by the separation of city life and weekend recreational appreciation of the surroundings. Ultimately, such a view could be detrimental to the landscape as it encourages landscape appropriation and deformation through urbanisation, domestication and a more general understanding of nature as something to be used for pleasure. The growing needs of the city – more infrastructure, more settlements, more spaces for consumption – are detrimental to the surrounding environment and its aesthetic appeal (see Figure 4.5). Natural surroundings that hold no obvious evidence of human habitation or invention are deemed the most beautiful, as they create a "space in which one could enjoy solitary contemplation, simplicity, and an apparent total naturalness" (Bell and Lyall 2002:7).


el diario
DEL FIN DEL MUNDO
2.2.12
cotizaciones
Dólar: 4,32 compra 4,36 venta
Euro: 5,63 compra 5,72 venta
¡guema esas fotos!
Más electricidad, menos paisaje
Torres de alta tensión eléctrica avanzan en su tendido hacia la villa turística de El Calafate, en Santa Cruz. La necesidad del servicio que acompañe el crecimiento de la capital nacional de los glaciares, impacta fuertemente en el paisaje esteparío que el viajero va disfrutando durante el camino. Esa inmensidad tan preciada por argentinos y extranjeros, nunca más será la misma.

**Figure 4.5** "More electricity, less landscape": A newspaper segment lamenting the loss of landscape value for Argentines and (foreign) travellers, induced by the installation of transmission towers in Patagonia (Source: El diario del Fin del Mundo, 02/02/2012).

These aesthetics of the natural, minimally manipulated environment and landscape are becoming more valuable as they become scarcer. Throughout the developed world, urban landscapes are "increasingly exposed to the transformative influence of Western market forces" (Matejowsky 2008:291). The manifestations of these market forces are particularly visible in large, multinational corporate trading facilities, such as malls, shopping complexes, and other

constructions like the casino, that are all linked to tourism. In Ushuaia, the mall is unlikely to undermine local trades to a significant degree as local shops are mostly located in the city centre which remains the principle tourist attraction (cf. Matejowsky 2008:307) and therefore encourages business. Nevertheless, the newly built mall "Paseo del Fuego" (Figure 4.6) was highly debated before its inauguration in December 2011. The debate caused by the shopping centre underlines the discord among the Ushuaian population regarding the use of natural environment and landscape aesthetics.


**Figure 4.6** The newly built shopping mall "Paseo del Fuego" in Ushuaia (Photograph: A. Herbert).

Apart from questions of access (a trading position in the mall is only a viable option for wealthy or already successful entrepreneurs), the way the building fit into the landscape surroundings was criticised. A modern, large complex located at the waterfront a few kilometres outside of the city centre (see Figure 4.7), some residents felt, was inappropriate and did not fit in with the sense of place, particularly the style of other buildings. An online discussion in July 2011, a few months before the mall was inaugurated, criticised the design as "untraditional [and] more suited for Buenos Aires or Mendoza" (SkyscraperCity 2011). Those residents, often NyC, who wanted to keep Ushuaia and its surroundings as original (i.e. resembling a moment frozen in time, sometimes placed at the beginning of the boom period) as possible or were concerned about the impact of extensive urban development on Ushuaia's touristic image as a quaint, picturesque, and traditional place, were opposed to a mega-structure of modern architecture and consumption-oriented purpose on the waterfront. Other residents, most notably VyQ, who had a less nature-focused sense of place and were not as opposed to urban infrastructural change (possibly also

because they had no personal connection to and memories of the earlier, less urbanised city), expressed their excitement at having a new centre of attraction resembling those of what they perceived as more modern and advanced cities.


**Figure 4.7** The shopping mall "Paseo del Fuego", located at the waterfront, in Google Maps (Source: GoogleMaps.com).

The casino, built in 2010 and also located at the waterfront in front of the city centre, is another example of modern architecture that splits opinions amongst residents as its neon lights and modern architecture dominate the bay view of Ushuaia (see Figure 4.8).


**Figure 4.8** Ushuaia's casino at the waterfront (Source: Niebrugge n.d.).

As in other parts of the world undergoing rapid urban change (Terkenli 2011:227), in Ushuaia there are tensions between the traditional and the novel regarding the use and development of the landscape. In Greece, researchers found that domestic tourism can result in the development of a landscape conscience, i.e. an awareness of the intrinsic and extrinsic values of the natural environment, that is driven by urbanisation and ecological worries. The ecological concerns behind this transformation are rooted in an agro-ecosystem degradation, extensive housing construction and urban expansion (Terkenli 2011:238). This resembles the processes in Ushuaia, where several factors (a sprawling urbanisation; lack of appropriate and visually integrated housing which results in environmental and touristic concerns; touristic commodification of the landscape) lead to an increasing awareness of the recreational and economic value of landscape among parts of the population (this issue is further discussed in Chapters 5 and 6).

Rapid urban development and urban expansion can lead to a loss of local distinctiveness and sense of identity. Chang suggests that “for residents with long-standing links to a site, landscape

transformation leads to placelessness as cherished ties[72] to people and place are severed" (Chang 2012:136). During conversations with residents, among them several native Fueguinos, a growing dissociation with the surrounding landscape was noticeable. Using the decreasing quality of local freshwater sources as an example and referring to the practices of residents in the informal settlements, Mateo illustrated his perception that urban expansion was taking a toll on Ushuaia:

> **Mateo:** "There are many sick people here, I don't know why."
>
> **Andrea:** "Sick people?"
>
> **Mateo:** "Diabetics. People say it's because of the water."
>
> **Andrea:** "What's up with the water?"
>
> **Mateo:** "Nothing, it's OK, it was better in the past. Sweeter. [Today] they mix it a lot, with chlorine. The water is very contaminated, they don't treat it well. They put Lavandina [a washing powder] in there. We used to drink water from the rivers, from the Cordillera [the Andes mountain range that separates Chile and Argentina], we would just put hoses in. The water was cleaner and tastier then. That's what happens when you don't take care of the water. It used to be more beautiful, white – you could see the stones on the ground. Nowadays it's half-dark."

Not only do new constructions in the name of 'landscape improvement' alter the surroundings, but the natural resources are tampered with, which strains the emotional and identity-forming ties between the population and the natural surroundings that become increasingly unrecognizable. Mateo's rejection of present urban development stands in contrast to the way Jaime, an architect employed by the municipality, presented the landscape transformations as an opportunity to 'get back in touch' with the land. Jaime used planned developments at the waterfront as an example to emphasise the way urban re-structuring can increase the recreational use of landscape for residents. This contrast in perception is representative of the societal divide among Ushuaian residents when it comes to landscape use and the natural environment. While Mario, a native Fueguino with intimate connections to the land and its history, represents the conservative approach to urban development and alterations that many NyC adhere to, Jaime's more utilitarian and modernising position is typical for those residents who are migrants (VyQ) or who regard modernising urban change as a solution for the challenges caused by Ushuaia's growing population.

---

[72] Although Chang does not make mention of this, it is worth considering the possibility that these relationships, or rather, the strength of them, may have been partly constructed in retrospect. This would not, however, diminish their perceived importance to the residents in question.

In 2013, after years of debating the issue, a Popular Consultation[73] decided in favour of removing hundreds of shipping containers that had been stored by Ushuaia's waterfront opposite the industrial sector of the city (Figure 4.9). A newspaper article suggested that the "highly negative visual impact" of the containers prevented citizens from accessing the waterfront region, "which belongs to all" (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2011a). The containers were to be relocated to the higher zones of the city into storage space used by businesses. This task was part of an urban-environmental 'healing' project that was started by the Ushuaian mayor in 2008, and declared its goal to be the "recuperation of as much coastal space for the public use as possible" (cf. Worman 2011a; Cófreces 2011). In generating public support for the project, an employee of the municipality connected the landscape with history and community spirit (Cófreces 2011; also see Lovece 2011b).

**Figure 4.9** Shipping containers from private companies piling up on Ushuaia's waterfront (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2013a).

An online article on the decision to store the containers in the higher zones drew an array of reactions from readers. One of them commented,

[73] Popular Consultations are political mechanisms that entail citizen participation in order to make decisions.

> "they already filled the coast…now [the area] behind the mountains has to be occupied….. EVERY DAY MORE BEAUTIFUL USHUAIA!! HOW THEY LOVE THE DOUGH, MAN!!!!!" (Crónicas Fueguinas 2011, translation mine. Punctuation as in original)

Another reader suggested that Ushuaia was an industrial instead of a touristic city, sarcastically adding that a walkway should be made to facilitate the admiration of the containers as they "look breathtaking". This touches on another discourse that debates whether Ushuaia should relocate its manufacturing industry to the neighbouring city of Río Grande in order to concentrate exclusively on the tourism industry. Relocating of the factories would remove an important incentive for many migrants who are attracted to Ushuaia for its perceived employment potential. Many residents regard the manufacturing industry as indirectly responsible for the city's rapid growth and, as a consequence, for the informal settlements.

The urban waterfront is the most public and visible of tourism landscapes. Taking the remodelling of the Singapore waterfront from a "filthy waterway" to a leisure and commercial landscape as an example, Chang (2012:136-138) describes how tourists react apprehensively about what they perceive as a decimation of history and identity, lamenting the homogenisation of waterfronts worldwide and the loss of uniqueness. There is no unanimous opinion among residents as younger generations without personal connections to the waterfront may appreciate the creation of new entertainment spaces, while older Singaporeans may primarily regret the loss of familiar place elements (Chang 2012:138).

As an entity that connects the foreground existence, i.e. the concrete reality of everyday life, with the background existence, i.e. the aspirations and ideals, the potentiality and representations of a space (Hirsch 1995:3-4), landscape is continuously constructed and contested. In Ushuaia, there also exist ecocentric perspectives on the natural environment that do not put human use in the foreground but rather emphasise the need to protect and preserve the environment regardless of its economic, recreational, or touristic values. In this respect, it is worth mentioning the Law of the Forest (Ley del Bosque), National Law 26.331, which prioritises the growth and conservation of forest over the human use of it. The law divides forested land into three categories: (1) a restrictive category that reserves land and forest for conservation; (2) a category of sustainable use and

maintenance of land and forest[74]; and (3) a category for the transformation of land and forest for pastoral use or the construction of barrios (cf. Secretaría de Ambiente y Desarrollo Sustentable de la Nación, n.d.; Ministerio del Interior y Transporte, 2002:33; Momentos TDF 2012). As discussed elsewhere in this thesis (Chapter 3 on Othering based on differing environmental perceptions; Chapter 6 on informal settlements and the natural environment), viewpoints that embrace a protective, ecocentric attitude towards life in Ushuaia do exist, but in public debate often give way to a more utilitarian perspective. This is reflected in Article 87 of the municipal charter for the city of Ushuaia which states that

> "[t]he municipality shall preserve and protect the urban and suburban native forest that constitutes areas of high ecological value with a high potential of recreational, educational and touristic development for leisure activities and to the benefit of present and future generations." (Ministerio del Interior y Transporte 2002:33, emphasis added)

I focus here on the anthropocentric viewpoints, which in the above quote immediately follow the reference to the area's "ecological value". Whether the natural surroundings should be left undisturbed, be manipulated for lifestyle reasons and to meet accommodation needs, or be commodified and made accessible for tourism purposes is much debated among residents. Should the landscape be perceived as a functional medium to be used for both tourism and accommodation, or should it be viewed as a living reminder of historic developments, serving a mainly aesthetic purpose? As the cityscape is being transformed to meet the municipality's conception of a cosmopolitan touristic destination, Ushuaia is being constructed as a landscape that is at the same time remote, wild, picturesque and comfortable.

## Landscape and Tourism

While the nature of tourist desires is influenced by fluctuating politics, en-vogue consumer styles, the travel industry etc., the desire to experience beautiful landscape has been a constant (Bell and Lyall 2002:3). But the tourist gaze is not innocent, or free of preconceptions. Tourists travel with their own inner landscapes, remembering particular places through images of how they perceived

[74] I was unable to find further definitions and specifications of the term sustainable use (of forested areas) as employed here. In his book A New Environmental Ethics: The Next Millennium for Life on Earth (2012), Holmes Rolston III provides an excellent discussion on the use of the term sustainable development, which due to its vagueness "can be twisted to fit any on-going worldview" (2012:37). Economics may still be the driving force behind any action or agenda undertaken under this umbrella term, and be prioritised over the protection of the environment.

them during their visit; or developing such images through photographs, films, or narratives from others (Stewart and Strathern 2003:4-5). The tourist gaze tends to be informed, shaped, and conditioned by several media and agents, all of which act as "agents of blindness", creating a pre-selection of the 'worthwhile' for the tourist (Bell and Lyall 2002:4). On the urban planning level, landscapes are chosen, modified and promoted for tourism purposes (in Terkenli 2011:228). Landscapes are staged through tourism planning (Terkenli 2011:228) and tourism development, catering to the tourist gaze. Some dwellings, and, by perceived extension, their inhabitants, do not fit into this scheme of tourism-appropriate landscapes. Tourism authorities do not consider informal settlements worthwhile for touristic purposes, as they are perceived as incongruent with Ushuaia's touristic image of the quaint and picturesque. As established residents often accuse informal settlers of destroying or damaging the natural landscape and of abusing (natural) resources, the informal settlements become, before a tourist-centred background, a catalyst for Othering (see Chapters 3 and 6).

Ushuaia is firmly marketed along the lines of its extreme geographical location. It is promoted as "the southernmost paradise" (Secretaría de Turismo 2009, original: 'Ushuaia, un paraiso en el Sur') and as "the end of the world" (see Figures 4.10 and 4.11), depending on the target group.[75]

[75] The only exception that was mentioned to me by the Secretary of Tourism, Daniel Leguizamón, was Brazil. The Brazilian market, after the USA and Spain the biggest tourism market in Ushuaia especially in the winter season (Secretaría de Turismo 2012b), is targeted by InFueTur with an adjustment of slogan. In the past, the province had made the mistake to advertise Ushuaia to Brazil as "the End of the World; extreme snow". This concept had backfired with the cold-sensitive Brazilians who subsequently associated Ushuaia with the South Pole and extreme cold, and stayed away. An employee of the Tourism Secretary suggested that InFueTur should have advertised Ushuaia as "a paradise in the South. [They should have said that] we're very far away from the Antarctic polar circle... we're on the same latitude as Liverpool, and the Beatles didn't live in igloos. Since four years ago, people have associated Ushuaia with 'paradise', and they have come."


**Figure 4.10** By Ushuaia's waterfront, the English version of a popular slogan (Source: Bellomy 2006).


**Figure 4.11** Adorned sign reading "Ushuaia End of the World" by the waterfront, a popular photo opportunity (Source: Brunt 2008).

The destination tagline of the end of the world invokes images of vast remoteness and facilitates the creation of place myths (Knudsen et al. 2012:204). Landscape, "the first and most enduring medium of contact between tourist and prospective or consumed place of travel" (Terkenli 2011:229), is clearly of central importance in this construction. In the case of Ushuaia, there are two components that make up the whole image: rough, wild landscape and picturesque, comfortable city: the southernmost city of the world. In its bid to attract tourists, the city had to be "married with countryside" as the best of both worlds is required to satisfy tourists' expectations: the commodities of the urban lifestyle and the perceived idyllic existence of the rural lifestyle (Hirsch 1995:2). This balance entails an increasing commodification and restructuring with the aim of creating a place that offers opportunities for both material and visual consumption (cf. Urry 1995:1). Tourism brings in comfort-conscious tourists, visitors with a need for an elevated standard of comfort, domesticated environments and leisure options that exceeds that of those residents whose place-bound history and identity is based on a struggle against the elements.

On their travels, tourists seek out the signs of what it means to be of the foreign culture (Selby 2012:234). For Ushuaia, these include markers highlighting the geographical remoteness (i.e., the sign that reads End of the World), 'traditional' food such as lamb (cordero fueguino) and spider crab (centolla). Tourism promotion uses signs to direct the touristic experiences (Selby 2012:235, Terkenli 2011:230), shaping what and how the tourist perceives. The Ushuaia End of the World sign by the waterfront (Figure 4.11) frames the view for visual consumption (Bell and

Lyall 2002:41), inviting quick and convenient opportunities for photography. This directed gaze is especially convenient for cruise ship tourists, those with very limited time to explore the surroundings and find their own perspectives. The sign offers a picturesque backdrop of the harbour, the tourist ships, and the Beagle Channel. As in most other facets of contemporary life, acceleration is also and especially prevalent in tourism, with consumers trying to fill up a short time with as much pleasure and stimulation as possible (Bell and Lyall 2002:4). Urban development for touristic purposes recognizes and responds to this need.

Urban tourism strategies are increasingly linked to hallmark events (Selby 2012:233). Throughout the winter season, there are various competitions and events in Ushuaia that are aimed at both visitors and residents, including the End of the World Marathon, a dog sled race, the Argentine ski championship, a cross-country ski race (Marcha Blanca), the Winter Triathlon, and an ice sculpture competition. This strategy relies on a perspective that regards landscape as a space to be actively used instead of merely passively consumed, altering the fundamental relationship between nature and people.

Tourism is a force that makes places (Chang 2012:133) as it shapes destination marketing and branding, drives urban (re)development and the implementation of new attractions (in the case of Ushuaia, buildings and structures such as the Polo Antártico, the casino, the mall, and the proposed coastal walkway). Residents and native Fueguinos have become obliged to see landscape in light of the imperatives of the tourist industry which wants to market it, change it, and construct it modelled upon the tourist's needs (cf. Carrier 2003:226). The goal of the tourism industry, then, is to domesticate urban landscape and make it accessible, easily manageable, and easily digestible. Just as it makes new places, tourism has the power to potentially unmake old places (cf. Chang 2012:133) when these measures are carried to excess, overdeveloping the destination, over-marketing place-bound myths, and plasticising experiences. An unmaking of place occurs when the carrying capacity of a place is exceeded. The carrying capacity is understood here as "the maximum number of people who can use a site without an unacceptable alteration in the physical environment and without an unacceptable decline in the quality of the experience gained by the visitors" (Mathieson and Wall 1982:21). Similarly, the socio-psychological carrying capacity of a place is reached when the local population begins to feel overwhelmed by the numbers of tourists (Wilson 2008:14) (see Chapter 5). Exceeding the carrying capacity of a place results in environmental and cultural degradation and social backlash (Chang 2012:134; see Figure 4.12).


**Figure 4.12** Graffiti in a peripheral area of the city, stating that "the end doesn't exist." A sign of citizen disagreement with official city branding? (Source: Anonymous, n.d.)

The different socio-cultural and socio-political groups in Ushuaia might perceive the unmaking of old places and the making of new, unfamiliar places differently. At the urban planning and business operator level, landscape transformation can be seen as a way to revive defunct spaces (Chang 2012:138). Tourists may perceive the increasing introduction of urban amenities as either convenient or distorting depending on their expectations and personal preferences. Local residents, depending on their personal histories, demographics, and needs, may either embrace or reject the landscape transformations. What one group may perceive as lost – the loss of unused[76] public spaces and of the original aesthetics of the waterfront and building structures and the loss of unobstructed views from houses onto the harbour and Ushuaia's panorama – can be perceived as a gain for another (Chang 2012:136). New leisure opportunities are embraced by tourists and younger residents, new living space appreciated by recent migrants and illegal settlers, new Antarctica-themed attractions visited by scientists, those involved in Antarctic research, tourism, or logistics, interested local residents, and tourists.

In addition to the distress extensive urban development for touristic purposes can cause to some parts of the resident population, it entails another risk. By overdeveloping landscape and attempting to assimilate a place to global standards of aesthetics and amenities, tourism can

[76] This term, of course, is problematic, as it brings up the question of whose usage counts. Its implications, i.e. that tourism-focused goals and the (imagined or real) needs of the tourist are prioritised over the needs of residents, have been mentioned by several research participants during my fieldwork.

result in landscape homogeneity. While place promotion includes the creation and maintenance of unique destination highlights, it also includes global symptoms of consumption to present the tourist with an element of familiarity and safety abroad (Knudsen et al. 2012:205). The embedding of global symbols of consumption, such as homogenised malls, airports, and a commercialized waterfront, allows for the tourist to recognize familiar landscape features abroad: Rather than just gaze at the landscape, tourists read it (Knudsen et al. 2012:205), relying on symbols they know from other places worldwide. These touristic tendencies of commodification and consumption have become common in a globalised world in which better and more extensive transportation systems facilitate the integration of even the remotest destination into global tourism flows (Cohen 2012:104). The increasing introduction and assimilation of global symbols into the landscape and the accompanying receding of place-bound differences entails a risk for a tourist destination. A homogenization of place – the serialisation of destinations (Selby 2012) – can lead to the unmaking of place, as product differentiation is essential for the successful marketing of goods and places (Perloff and Salop 1985). Chang suggests that

> "[t]he quest to be 'world-class' is often predicated on the assemblage of ideas, images and information from around the world. What results is the formation of environments that are evocative of other international destinations, but often devoid of the local contingencies of history and geography." (2012:135)

A homogenisation of landscape can be detrimental to tourist interest and place perception (cf. MacCannell 2001). Urban tourism confronts Ushuaia's governing powers with the challenge of preserving both contemporary lifestyles and architectural heritage (Knudsen et al. 2012:203).

## Conclusion

In a globalising world, provincial jurisdictional developments often reflect a larger, international shift towards neoliberalism. In this context, even political and socio-economic developments in (formerly) isolated areas such as Argentine Tierra del Fuego have to be regarded with these global connections in mind. A good example of this shift is a provincial law introduced in Tierra del Fuego in the early 1970s. Provincial law 19.640, establishing tax exemption and creating incentives for business in Argentina's southernmost province in 1972, was successful in mobilising Argentines to relocate to Tierra del Fuego. It is also blamed for the population explosion that turned Ushuaia from a sleepy and isolated town at the periphery of Argentine

national territory into a booming, well-connected city that struggles to react to its changing socio-economic realities. Julio Lovece, ex-Secretary of Tourism, suggested that

> "[d]evelopment happens in an unplanned form, which is one thing that we've always had here, since I can think. The authorities have always lagged behind the planning, not charged ahead [laughs]. We have always been reacting to reality. [Those who created Law 19640] hadn't considered that our cities weren't prepared for receiving the number of Argentines that came to settle here."

The geopolitical strategies behind the economic incentives established in Argentina's southernmost province have resulted in upheaval for both the existing and the incoming population. Diverging perspectives on placemaking is one of the factors that creates conflict and divides Ushuaia's changing and multi-faceted society. As the city is subject to an important influx of tourists year-round, various perspectives exist when it comes to landscape and its potential uses. By shaping and transforming landscapes, urban development aims to support the government's touristic placemaking ambitions in the short term, but risks 'unmaking' Ushuaia as a place of touristic interest in the long term. As perceptions about appropriate land use creates disagreement among the various sectors of the community, and urban expansion and development progress, the societal divide threatens to increase. Newcomers to Ushuaia, or VyQ, often regard landscape and the natural environment from a more utilitarian and less aesthetics and tourism-focused perspective. They may hold less of a personal attachment to place than established residents or native Fueguinos. As a result of this, they may collide with NyC and lifestyle migrants, who place more emphasis and importance on the natural environment, landscape aesthetics, and often, the touristic potential of Ushuaia.

Urban development can strengthen identity and community spirit by building up local heritage, but it can also commercialize cultures and create spaces exclusively for global tourists (Paradis 2004). While tourism is not the only driver behind urban development, in a community such as Ushuaia, where approximately half of local employment is directly or indirectly dependent on tourism, it holds a central role in landscape transformations. Viewed in this way, tourism can unify people and places but it can also impair community cohesion and taint relations between hosts and guests (cf. Chang 2012:134), especially when the political economy uses touristic frameworks that ultimately pit tourists against residents.

# 5 Residents and tourism

With its subsidised manufacturing industry, well-paid jobs in government administration, and stunning geographical features, Ushuaia has been and still is a preferred destination for both lifestyle and economic migrants. Tourism, one of the three most important economic sectors in the province, plays its part in fuelling urban expansion and population growth that Ushuaia has been undergoing in the past few decades. Along with this growth come stresses on the town service system and first indicators of a changing relationship between residents and tourists. In this chapter, I explore these developments and discuss some socio-economic consequences of urban and tourism planning. Finally, I look at accounts of tourism workers to find out how they perceive working conditions in the tourism sector. In so doing, I explore the schism between Ushuaia's touristic profile and reports from those of my research participants who work in the tourism trade and state their dissatisfaction with the structural support and appreciation they receive in their function as Ushuaia's touristic front-line staff.

**Table 5.1** Overview of principal research participants in Chapter 5

| | |
|---|---|
| **Tourism business and employees** | Francisco – owner of a horse-back riding business near the city, in his 40s<br>Esmeralda – Receptionist at central hostel, Ushuaian native, in her late 20s<br>Amadeo – Part-time receptionist at central B&B, Ushuaian native, in his 30s<br>Alonso – waiter in central café and night receptionist at B&B, immigrated from Formosa in 2011. In his mid-20s<br>Mora – tourist guide in her early 30s from Patagonia, works freelance for catamaran companies |
| **Tourism institutions** | Daniel Leguizamón – Secretary of Tourism, in his 50s<br>Julio Lovece – former Secretary of Tourism, founder of an NGO concerned with tourism, culture and the environment, in his 60s<br>Guadalupe – Touristic planning department at InFueTur, in her 40s |
| **City services** | Vicente – Director of Social Work department, Ushuaia, originally from Northern province, in his late 50s<br>Isabel – employed at UTGHRA (Hospitality and Tourism Workers' Union), in her 40s |

## Carrying capacity and an overwhelmed town system

Ushuaia's town system finds itself overwhelmed with the influx of both migrants and tourists. Population growth and intensive tourism stress the city's infrastructural carrying capacity to the point of supply shortfalls that in 2011 and 2012 dominated the media for weeks (Figure 5.1). The most widely reported supply shortfall during my first few months of fieldwork concerned the water supply. The "water crisis" as entitled by the local newspapers, had been going on for three

years already and saw the water supply drastically reduced or cut over a prolonged period of time. Some barrios, predominantly outside of the city centre in the elevated zones (Prensa 2011a), had been without a drinking water supply for several consecutive days in August 2011. Accusations were voiced that the water cuts were not as evenly distributed as the council assured. While the DPOSS (Dirección Provincial de Obras y Servicios Sanitarios) communicated that in different zones of the city water was being cut so that it could eventually be distributed equitably, this was contested by residents: "You can see straight away that it is always the same barrios that are affected" (Prensa 2011a, translation mine). After 200 litre barrels that were distributed by Voluntary Fire Fighters to afflicted barrios were found to contain remnants of flax oil, protests became violent and turned against Fire Fighters and Civil Defence who were distributing water manually (El diario del Fin del Mundo, 2011b).

These protests and the ensuing violent altercations were indicative of a growing unrest among Ushuaians, with both VyQ and NyC feeling unfairly treated. Many of the afflicted VyQ I spoke with felt discriminated against not only through casual everyday interactions with established residents but also on a structural level through what they felt were targeted water cuts that favoured areas in elevated zones where many newcomers lived. The afflicted NyC, on the other hand, felt that the water cuts were happening because of newcomers who strained the system beyond its capacity and thus inflicted problems onto established residents. Underlying these conflicts were mutual feelings of injustice, abuse, and discrimination, as well as ideas about right of place. Established residents, who had contributed to the social system for a longer period of time, claimed an "inherent" sense of place and a greater place attachment, and therefore expressed discontent about the inconveniences suffered through what they perceived as less deserving residents. Newcomers or VyQ, speaking from a perspective of human rights of equality independent of length of residence and citing the Argentine Constitution which allowed and encouraged migration, voiced their protest against being discriminated against and being made to feel unwelcome in the city.

The water cuts were particularly disruptive for those residents who depended on the use of water for their businesses, particularly hostel and restaurant owners. An acquaintance of mine who ran his own little downtown restaurant resorted to buying 10 litre containers of water to be able to cook for and serve his clients, and equipped the client bathroom with a bucket of water and hand sanitiser. Hotels gave out bottled water to their guests for overnight hygiene, as most of the water cuts happened at night (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2011c). The overall problem worsened in winter when low temperatures froze the raw water streams that fed the

water treatment plants. In August 2011, hotels saw themselves forced to restrict the numbers of their guests as they were unable to supply enough water to (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2011c).

In a meeting with enraged community members in August 2011, the Secretary of Institutional Communication, Silvio Bocchicchio, reminded the residents that the size of the city tripled since the last public work of infrastructure was done in 1989 (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2011d). Pressed for a statement concerning the resolution of the water crisis, the Council revealed that the existing water plant in Arroyo Grande was to be strengthened, the water treatment plant in Ushuaia was to be expanded, two new water treatment plants were to be built, and credits for water tanks for local households were to be given (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2011e). In February 2012, plans were made public by the Department of Infrastructure to augment the drinking water producing capacity of Ushuaia's facility by 60%. In addition to this, the water tank at Le Martial, a glacier overlooking the city, was planned to be increased from 400 to 1,000 cubic metres (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2012a; El diario del Fin del Mundo 2012b).


**Figure 5.1** Pictures of Ushuaian residents during a cacerolazo, a political protest that involves the banging on pots and pans during Ushuaia's "water crisis". A man is depicted holding a sign that reads "Water for Everybody!!!" (Source: El Sureño 2011)

In order to pay for these developments, the water tariff increased by nearly a 100% in 2011. This increase was made possible by the activation of an Emergency Plan in August 2011 which allowed direct access to monies that would then be used for the increased capacity and improvement of the local water system.

The "saturated city" (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2012c) revealed itself in other instances also. A road network that lacks capacity for Ushuaia's 45,000 vehicles (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2012c) causes traffic down the central street to be slow-moving or halting during peak hours. Parking spaces in front of the central supermarket are rare as streets are congested and street parking regularly fully occupied with cars parked on both sides along San Martín, Ushuaia's main street. More importantly, local health services are exhausted, which causes resentment among residents. Vicente, a social worker, elaborated that

> "[t]he people who stay here need health [services], they need the health system to take care of them. You go to the hospital and now... you have to make an appointment for [from] here in sixty days. Me, who has been living here for twenty years... in the past, I remember when I came here, they attended to me the next day. Now I have to wait three months for an appointment – why? Because of the sheer number of people, apart from the same people who are residents here, our children – they too stay here, plus those who come. It's impressive how Ushuaia is growing, and the security systems, health, education – they too start to be kind of... unable to meet the demands."

While Ushuaia's population growth can only partly be attributed to tourism, tourism is nevertheless a contributor to the capacity overload that the city is experiencing. The carrying capacity of a tourist destination (Doxey 1975) is a useful concept that allows for the focus to look beyond the community's capacity for tourism development and look more broadly at the community's capacity for development in general (Moscardo 2008:173). Underlying a community's resilience and ability to deal with conflicts and challenges brought on by tourism development and changes is social capital (Pooley et al. 2005). Social capital, a concept that goes back to Bourdieu (1986) and was elaborated by Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1995), takes into consideration the relationships, networks, and competencies of community actors in achieving individual and collective goals. The World Bank defines it as

> the norms and networks that enable collective action. It encompasses institutions, relationships, and customs that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions. Increasing evidence shows that social capital is critical for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable. Social capital, when enhanced in a positive manner, can improve project effectiveness and sustainability by building the community's capacity to work together to address their common needs,

> fostering greater inclusion and cohesion, and increasing transparency and accountability. (World Bank 2011)

A concept that focuses on the various implications of networks and relationships is an ideal tool for understanding a place like Ushuaia, in which the resident population is fractured into opposing groups (cf. Chapter 3. This concept will also help to understand the phenomenon of informal settlements in Chapter 6). In a 2010 study, Peter van Aert, a Dutch sociologist and resident in Ushuaia, explored Ushuaian society from an angle that took into account the city's social capital. He found that the social connectivity of Ushuaia's residents was directly correlated to their perception of and attitude towards their fellow citizens. Van Aert took the existence of 353 registered non-governmental organisations in Ushuaia as an indication not for a high degree of collective action, but for a high degree of social discontinuity:

> "We understand that what is reflected in the institutionalisation of collective action is the exogenous and heterogenous character of the community. The civic infrastructure suggests that the social fabric underlying the community is not sufficiently dense so as to create bridges between the different social groups." (van Aert 2010:229, translation mine)

The existence of not only migrant cultural groups but also an association of Fueguian residents (Asociación de Residentes Fueguinos) points towards "a feeling of oppression on part of the Fueguinos in relation to the arrival of big groups of migrants" (van Aert 2010:229). This has impacts on how place is perceived by both Fueguinos and migrants, as place attachment is shaped by social connectivity and inter-group relations. As transpired in my interviews with them, some Fueguinos felt overwhelmed by the numbers of newcomers and the perceived dilution of the traditional Fueguian way of life (i.e. traditional architecture, a small-town connection to other residents, and similar cultural habits), which altered their sense of place and, in some cases, created a feeling of distance or dissociation with the growing city. In the case of the migrants, on the other hand, it is likely that the creation of specific cultural groups positively enhances their place attachment and sense of place by creating new networks and establishing supportive relationships in a city whose established residents frequently emphasise the financial, emotional, and socio-cultural strains that newcomers put on them.

The distribution of social capital among the population is also reflected in the socio-spatial arrangements in the city (see Chapter 6). The potential for conflict ensues as Fueguian residents are confronted by both an increasing sense of alienation due to a changing society, and urban developments that alter the built environment (cf. Chapter 4). Migrants in turn are dealing with a receiving native community that displays hostility (van Aert 2010:233), and in

which they struggle to gain a foothold as far as employment is concerned. As I explored in depth in Chapter 3, Ushuaia's social profile is highly heterogeneous and lacks social connectivity (see Villena et al. 2010:48; Worman 2011a; van Aert 2010; van Aert and Malizia 2010), which weakens the community's capacity to absorb negative impacts caused by tourism, urban expansion, and explosive population growth. Pressure on the resource-based carrying capacity of the city and social discontent arising from systematic power imbalances among the residents are likely to be more impactful and perceived as damaging because of this.

### Distribution of benefits

The consequences of ongoing placemaking processes confront the Ushuaian community not only with a growing shortage of resources, but also with an increasing power imbalance between low-waged (tourism) workers and higher-waged workers or capital holders, especially in subsidised employment sectors. Many of my research participants posed the question of who benefits from tourism development, and questioned whether tourism boosts the economy of the whole community.

Early-stage promises to host communities that outline the benefits that tourism will bring often result in host community disillusion (Davies and Morais 2004:10; cf. Kent 1977). The expectation of widespread community renewal through tourism development is generally unrealistic, as some benefits take longer to materialise if they do at all (Stokowski 1993:36). Some residents voice their perceptions that not all sectors of the community benefit from tourism, and that tourism instead increases the wellbeing of only a select few, namely those economically invested in tourism (Ayala et al. 2009; Daverio, Jensen and Vereda 2007:72; cf. Matarrita-Cascante 2009:113ff; Mitchell and Reid 2000). Jobs that were created when tourism began to increase frequently go to the the higher-skilled faction of the new, immigrated community as approximately 40% of employees in Ushuaia are from neighbouring countries and other provinces (Villena et al. 2010:45f; cf. Wilson 2008). A study done with Ushuaian community members showed that 55% of those interviewed were not linked with cruise tourism, while 67% say they cannot detect an increase in revenue (Daverio, Jensen and Vereda 2007:72). A repercussion of growing tourism numbers, increased immigration, and population growth lies in a growing income disparity (Brown et al. 1997:324; Mansfeld and Jonas 2006:584). Some sectors of the city are excluded from the economic benefits that tourism can bring. This disparity is reflected both in the spatial arrangements of the city and in an increase of voices

calling for a better balance in the primary distribution of revenue generated through tourism (cf. Ayala et al. 2009; see Figure 5.2).


**Figure 5.2** Flyer dropped off in central Ushuaia in March 2012, reading "Fellow hotel and gastronomy workers, enough already with rich businessmen and poor workers. Increase subsidies now!!!"

The use of local produce in restocking cruise ship food stocks (see Chapter 5) would help to disperse local benefits of tourism. Until a few decades ago, private gardens and orchards (quintas) were common in Ushuaia where people grew food (cf. Vairo 1998:181). One of my research participants, whose family had been living in Ushuaia for several generations, pointed out that quintas were used until space issues created by the increase in population ended this practice. Julio Lovece criticised the government for failing to support the creation of local and regional production units that could produce perishable goods such as produce and pastry that were needed on the cruise ships. Provincial involvement in the supplying would ensure a more diverse pool of people benefitting from tourism. Julio recounted the example of El Artesano, a local bakery that sold raw bread dough to the cruise ships and within a short time managed to open several branches in Ushuaia. He believed that with a project that supported local production of goods,

> "you would support a whole work spirit in the people here, in a city where everybody wants to live off the State. You would accomplish that people know how to become, or want to be, independent from the State and work in their own businesses. It's a whole philosophy that should be developed."

Research participants affiliated with Ushuaia's tourism institutions criticised a mindset held by representatives of government and administration (which, along with the manufacturing

industry, is the main economic sector in Ushuaia) that de-prioritised tourism in long-term planning. Julio argued that

> "there are factories here that profit from building televisions in Tierra del Fuego… Why not implement (…) economic support so that the people can grow strawberries? I find it absurd that it is cheap to build televisions and laundry machines and that it should be expensive to grow lettuce."

This argument resonates with Ushuaia's beginnings as a community that was developed through and depended on government subsidies. Critics of the current scenario point to a more proactive, economically viable approach that tourism offers up: Tourism is perceived as a way to become less dependent on outside forces and extra-provincial subsidies that finance a maintained community. The goal to diffuse benefits from tourism to strengthen wider parts of the community and encourage more people to forge an independent living for themselves features in the Provincial Tourism Plan. However, assigned a low priority stamp, it fails to go beyond recommendations of "improving city image" and a vague mention of social projects (Ayala et al. 2010:169).

### Working in tourism

Communities that have experienced a significant spurt of economic, population, and infrastructural growth through tourism development often undergo a period of disillusionment after tourism has been established. The promised employment opportunities that tourism endows on host communities can turn out to be less beneficial and impacting than hoped for. Tourism can push locals into low-waged jobs in insecure, seasonal positions such as employment in restaurants, hotels, or as tour guides (cf. Miller and Fendly 1995; Matarrita-Cascante 2009:115). Higher-skilled workers from outside of the community can take these low-waged jobs or higher-waged jobs that locals do not qualify for (Moscardo 2008:3). Furthermore, tourism has altered labour relations in such a way that neo-colonial labour relations emerge. As a consequence, the relationship between the so-called First World and the Third World (also) in tourism is still unbalanced[77] when First World tourists face the labouring Third World service

[77] This holds true with international cruise ship tour operators who keep the scale of overall financial benefits clearly on their side (see Klein 2010). It is also the case with South American relations to the European tourism market: Lumsdon and Swift (1999:435) report reluctance towards the South American

providers (Swords and Mize 2008). This imbalance is further intensified through often perilous working conditions and the fact that work in tourism is generally low-waged (cf. Davies and Morais 2004:5; Zukin 1998:825f), which results in the re-enforcement of tourism workers' vulnerability and the power differences between First World consumers and Third World labourers. Tourism as a whole, then, remains an activity in which wealthier countries significantly influence the number of tourists travelling while receiving most of the tourism revenue (Harrison 2001).

The tourism sector in Ushuaia mirrors many of the concerns raised above. Working conditions are often unfavourable, and representatives of the sector as a whole expressed their discontent with the treatment received from the government. In mid-March 2012, for example, I picked up a flyer from a central Ushuaian street (see Figure 5.3). The flyer was part of a great number of flyers dropped in front of central hostels by people affiliated with the Hospitality and Gastronomic Workers Union (UTGHRA). The UTGHRA represents those workers employed in hotels, restaurants, hotel kitchens, discotheques, and pastry stores. In 2011 there were around 3,000 hospitality and food services workers affiliated with the UTGHRA, not counting employees working on the catamarans and in private excursion agencies (Isabel, pers. comm. 2011).

tourism market and describe how local operators are left alone with the risks of new touristic destinations.

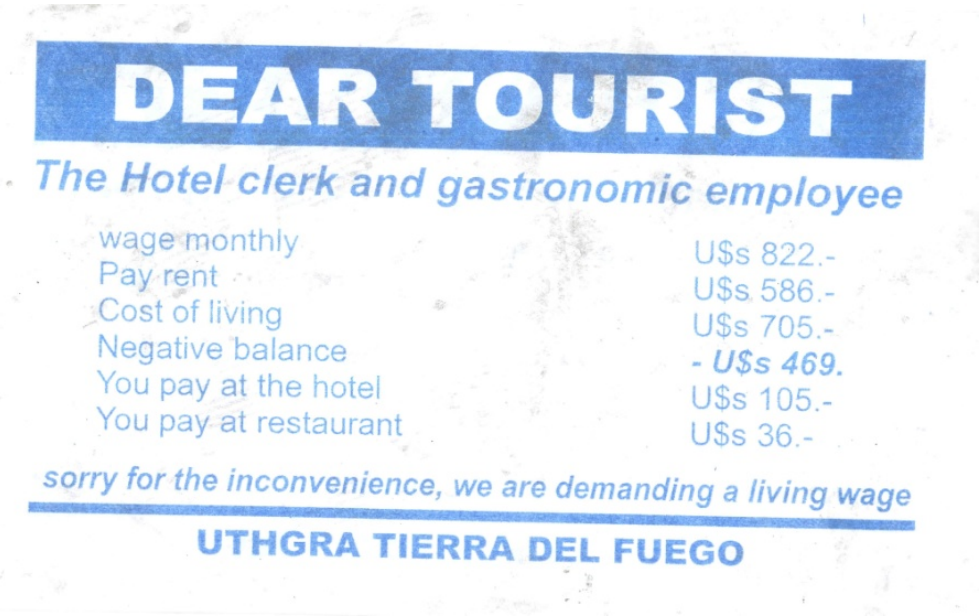



**Figure 5.3** Flyer distributed outside of hostels and hotels in Ushuaia by members of the UTHGRA in March 2012.

Trying to increase the political impact of protests by involving tourists was a technique that I witnessed several times during my fieldwork.[78] The above mentioned flyer, in Spanish on one side and functional English on the other side, suggested that the wages of an employee in hospitality are not enough to live on, and pointed out that the tourist by comparison pays an exorbitant amount of money for accommodation and food. The calculation alludes to the fact that business owners make a considerable profit at the expense of their employees. Vicente confirmed the numbers on the flyers and the insinuation:

> "That's how it is. (...) Tourism pays well, because it pays a dollar and that dollar is grabbed by the businessmen. But they don't yield on the basis of this demand, and that's why the employees get angry, they feel bad. I'm not saying you shouldn't make profit – you need to make profit, sure, to keep your business afloat, but don't exploit people. Look for a balance. So, make a bit less profit but make sure that your employees are a bit better off because look – [if] a month goes by and you're owing 2,000 pesos, what are you working for? You'll never manage to pay off your debt. That's what this flyer is about."

[78] Apart from three different flyer droppings in front of hostels and hotels (in touristic high season between January and March 2012) by tourism workers, I also witnessed a protest by nurses demanding higher income that tried to involve tourists. At the side of a makeshift shelter erected in front of the Casa del Gobierno on the sidewalk of Ushuaia's main street was a handwritten poster informing the "dear visitors" in English about the nurses' plight.

The UTHGRA's protest directed itself against the employers but also against structural discrimination in the tourism sector that sees hospitality workers being disadvantaged through inadequate wage supplements (subsidios). In line with the government's geopolitical strategies to boost Ushuaia's population and economy, government employees received 100%, and commerce employees received 80% in supplements added to their wage. Hospitality and food services workers, however, were given only 22% in additional wage benefits (Isabel, pers. comm., 05/03/2012). The "unfavourable zone"[79] supplements for the tourism sector had not been raised in over thirty years (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2012d). As part of the 2011/12 campaign I mentioned earlier, the UTHGRA demanded an increase of the supplements to 80% but signalled in negotiations that they would settle for 50% (Prensa 2012a). This would raise the current minimum monthly basic income for hospitality workers, which was ARG$ 3,100 at the time of my fieldwork (with an average of ARG$ 3,700 earned). A representative of the UTGHRA deemed the current figure to be only just sufficient to support a single person. However, renting a room at an average of approximately ARG$ 2,000 per month would mean a dwindling of the remaining disposable income to roughly ARG$ 1,100, a figure that was deemed undignified by my research participants and called shameful by the UTGHRA (Prensa 2012a).

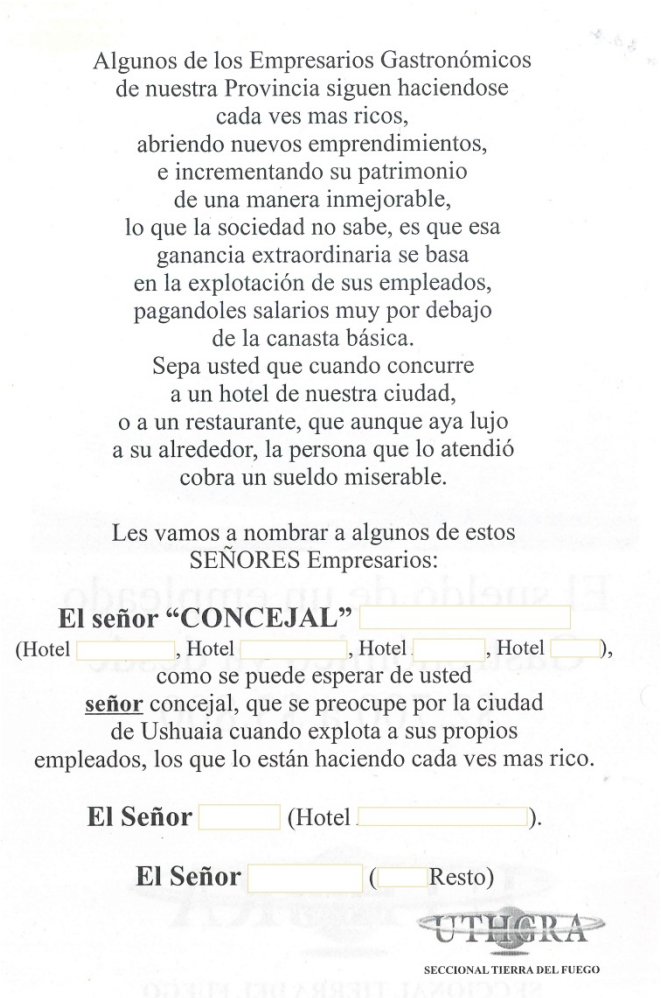
The salaries of my colleagues in the hostels and Bed and Breakfast establishments I worked at were in some cases considerably lower than this. Amadeo, a night receptionist at a B&B, was paid ARG$ 120 per eight-hour nightshift (ARG$ 15 per hour), while Esmeralda, a receptionist at a popular central hostel, earned ARG$ 16 per hour. Alonso, an overnight receptionist, was paid ARG$ 2,500 per month for working six eight-hour shifts per week (ARG$ 10.50 per hour). In one of the B&Bs I worked at, only one of the five employees was registered (incorrectly, as she worked full-time but was registered as working half-time). Unregistered workers, which account for an estimated 20% of all tourism workers in Ushuaia (Isabel, pers. comm. 2012; cf. Villena et al. 2010:46), do not get benefits or qualify for insurance and public

[79] This zone (span. zona desfavorable) was established in 1969 under Law 18.017 as part of the development of economic incentives that attempted to make an otherwise challenging, isolated region more attractive for workers. The zone encompasses the provinces of Santa Cruz, Tierra del Fuego, the Antarctic sector, the Malvinas Islands and the other Argentine islands of the South Atlantic. In 1972, the zone was extended by the provinces of Chubut, Neuquén and Río Negro, and in 2004 by the province of La Pampa. Employees of institutions in these provinces, including all governmental positions, receive an automatic bonus to their wages (Genoni 2011). Problems arise when this bonus is increased for one trade sector but not for others, prompting subsequent protests from other sectors.

retirement plans (Gargiulo et al. 2012). Only those workers who hold other jobs in which they are registered and covered by insurance are subject to these benefits and protection.

Employees' complaints go beyond being inadequately paid. Isabel reported the ongoing investigation of a hotel employer who was mistreating his employees by prohibiting them from joining the union and verbally abusing them in front of guests. The workers' dissatisfaction with their working conditions in general and the treatment they received in a few particular cases expressed itself also in the public naming of employers who allegedly abuse their employees (Figure 5.4[80]).

[80] Translation (some punctuation corrected for clarity): "Some of the gastronomy businessmen of our Province enrich themselves everyday by opening new businesses and increasing their assets in an unimprovable way. What society doesn't know is that this extraordinary profit is based on the exploitation of their employees by paying them very much below the basic food basket. You should know that when this happens at a hotel in our city, or at a restaurant, even though there is luxury around you, the person who serves you is paid a miserable salary. We will list some of these SEÑORES businessmen: **Señor "COUNCILMAN" [full name]** (Hotel [name], Hotel [name], Hotel [name], Hotel [name], how can one expect from you, **señor** councilman, to take care of the city of Ushuaia when you exploit your own employees who make you ever wealthier. **Señor [full name]** (Hotel [name]) **Señor [full name]** ([restaurant name])" (emphases in original; hotel and personal names are present in the original but have been edited out for this thesis).



Algunos de los Empresarios Gastronómicos
de nuestra Provincia siguen haciendose
cada ves mas ricos,
abriendo nuevos emprendimientos,
e incrementando su patrimonio
de una manera inmejorable,
lo que la sociedad no sabe, es que esa
ganancia extraordinaria se basa
en la explotación de sus empleados,
pagandoles salarios muy por debajo
de la canasta básica.
Sepa usted que cuando concurre
a un hotel de nuestra ciudad,
o a un restaurante, que aunque aya lujo
a su alrededor, la persona que lo atendió
cobra un sueldo miserable.

Les vamos a nombrar a algunos de estos
SEÑORES Empresarios:

**El señor "CONCEJAL"**
(Hotel , Hotel , Hotel , Hotel ),
como se puede esperar de usted
**señor** concejal, que se preocupe por la ciudad
de Ushuaia cuando explota a sus propios
empleados, los que lo están haciendo cada ves mas rico.

**El Señor** (Hotel ).

**El Señor** ( Resto)

UTHGRA
SECCIONAL TIERRA DEL FUEGO

**Figure 5.4** Flyer accusing hotel owners of mistreating their employees. While the identifying information, i.e. the full names of the people accused, is fully displayed in the original, I removed it for reasons of anonymity and protection of personal rights).

Employees see a schism between the economic importance the tourism industry holds for Ushuaia, and the structural framework that regulates the tourism sector. Tourism workers feel that while they are the face of touristic Ushuaia, providing front-line services to the visitors, they do not receive appropriate structural appreciation and recompense for their role. This argument is also based on the demanding and tiring conditions both touristic guides and hospitality workers were subjected to. For example, Sundays and holidays are usually full working days for guides and hospitality employees. All of my colleagues in the B&B felt that their social and family life was suffering as a result of their working hours. Many of them were forced to take on second jobs to support themselves or their families. Amadeo, a single man in his early thirties, felt that the social sacrifices he had to make when he was called in at short notice to cover a Sunday shift as a receptionist went unappreciated by his employer and were not

reflected in his wage. Alonso, a night-time receptionist in his mid-twenties, held a day job as a waiter to support himself but felt that his employer did not financially or otherwise acknowledge the strain that being on call six nights a week to attend to returning guests until early in the morning put on him.[81] When Alonso found a job in a pharmacy a few months after we met, he was happy to trade his two hospitality jobs for a fully registered day time position that paid him ARG$ 4,500 (US$ 790) per month for a five-day week.

While tourism guides were significantly better paid than hospitality workers (most of the guides I spoke to earned around ARG$ 6,000 (US$ 1050) per month), working conditions were similar. Long working hours, working on weekends and holidays, repetition, and seasonality were listed as the main undesirable aspects of being a guide. Guadalupe, an employee at InFueTur who used to work as a tourism guide two decades ago, called this period of her life "very tiring" and confirmed that working conditions for tourism employees in Argentina were "precarious and very lacking". Daniel Leguizamón, the Secretary of Tourism, did not see a way to improve the guides' situation economically, as a rise in prices for tourist services might mean a decline in tourist numbers.

The example of Mora, a woman in her late twenties who worked as a guide on touristic catamarans on the Beagle Channel, shows how it is especially the seasonality of guide jobs that increase workers' vulnerability. Mora was employed by one of the three catamaran companies as a guide in high season on a six-month contract that was not renewed when the low season started. In the season prior to our interview, Mora had been employed over the low season too but had been forced to take unpaid leave just short of the seven or eight months' period of employment that would have required her employer to give her a full-term contract. When Mora returned to work after her enforced break, she found that half of her regular work had been given to a new guide from Buenos Aires. Mora claimed that the company never paid her on time, sometimes not sending her a cheque until the 21st of the month, whereas securely-employed staff were paid on the 5th or 6th of every month. Eventually, she switched to another catamaran company that paid her less but regularly. For every excursion that she did in winter as non-fixed staff, she was paid the price of a ticket for a passenger – 300 pesos for a long

[81] Alonso was paid ARG$ 2,500 (US$ 438) per month for a six-day week of eight-hour night shifts. The hostel owner replaced Alonso with a new employee whom she paid ARG$ 1,200 (US$ 210) per month for working the same shifts, unregistered, arguing that she "basically [pays] him to sleep".

excursion and 200 pesos for a short one. If the weather did not permit navigation, Mora still had to show up at the port in the morning, but would not be paid if the boat did not go out:

> "So if one goes to work and it's not their fault that the port is closed, they should at least be paid half. I'm not saying, pay them the full excursion, but you were there – you went and waited, and they never acknowledged that and only paid you the tours that you went on."

Working freelance increases tourism guides' dependence on uncontrollable external factors such as tourist numbers and weather conditions (cf. Gargiulo et al. 2012). The cancelled flights and dwindling tourist numbers after the eruption of the Chilean volcano Puyehue in June 2011 and the volcanic ashes that disrupted the air passage to Ushuaia highlighted the vulnerability of un-contracted local guides who lost most of their income for several consecutive weeks. Many of my research participants in guiding positions recounted how they had to borrow money or live off their savings to counteract the loss of employment and income that followed the event.

From the position of a tourist guide, for only a few of whom "guiding is a calling" (Leguizamón, pers. comm. 2012), a position in a better paid environment with guaranteed working hours and a fixed contract can be tempting. An ex-tourism worker commented that "the factories are full of people who used to work in tourism, got fed up with bad conditions, and found a job in the factories." While I have not been able to find reliable data to statistically back this statement up, I met several tourism workers who were in various stages of applying for a position in one of the factories. With monthly wages of up to around US$ 4,000, positions in the factories are generally highly desired.[82] However, there are drawbacks in this line of work, as thirty-five per cent of those employed in the factories have contracts of less than six months' duration (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2011f). Mora was trying to procure work in the factories in December 2011, following the example of two of her friends who had traded a job in the tourism sector for a position in the factory. When she was offered a short-term contract a month later, however, she turned it down:

[82] So much so indeed that an article appeared in a local newspaper in Ushuaia's neighbouring city Río Grande ("Medical personnel's exodus to the factories causes concern", translation mine, Prensa 2011b) that discusses young professionals' interest to (at least temporarily) trade in their medical job for employment in the factories because of better wages.

> "He [the job officer] offered me a 45-days contract at the factory. But at the same time he advised me not to take it, because it is only 45 days. He told me that after that he wouldn't be able to offer me more work – so what do I do afterwards? High season [in tourism] will be over by then. See, after Easter numbers go way down. I would have made 14,000 pesos, but in the end I will stay with my current job."

The challenge for tourism workers is to find employment in the low season. While guides are sought after in high season, demand is low in the off-season. Tourism companies who employ guides in the low season expect them to work in their busiest months in return. The factories, while offering a higher income and regulated working hours, are less secure employers as they depend on subsidies from the State and operate on one-year contracts in Tierra del Fuego. While the industry was strong at the time of our interview, this can easily change (cf. Tiempo fueguino 2012a; Tiempo fueguino 2012b; Tiempo fueguino 2012c; Prensa 2012b). After both a rough patch in the 1990s and Argentina's financial collapse in 2001, a community member recounted how "factories just packed up and left, leaving the workers unemployed." Tourism as an industry that allows its workers to be independent of subsidies, unlike the manufacturing industry, has the advantage of being consistently present, even though its intensity is subject to global fluctuations.

### Strained relationship? Residents and tourists

> "Fuck. There's tourists here, too, now."
>
> (Disgruntled male resident to his female partner upon my entering a Tango bar in Ushuaia, November 2011)

Unlike the resource-centred carrying capacity described in an earlier section of this chapter, the social carrying capacity of a community, a concept widely used in social sciences, especially tourism and environmental studies (cf. Graefe et al. 1984; Manning et al. 1996; O'Reilly 1986), is more immediately linked with imbalances in power and social inequalities. The social carrying capacity of a community entails the level of tolerance the host population can muster for the presence and behaviour of tourists (O'Reilly 1986:256). In order to continuously support ongoing growth, the host community needs to see a significant increase in their quality of life (Schneider 1992). Residents' acceptance drops sharply when the negative aspects tourism can entail surpass the positive ones (Davies and Morais 2004:3). In Ushuaia, the consequences of intense tourism and urban growth put stress on both environmental and social carrying capacities. The environmental carrying capacity of a place is nearing saturation when phenomena such as

deforestation, inadequate solid waste management, shortages in the sanitation and waste water supply, and land erosion occur (Brown et al. 1997; cf. Daverio, Jensen and Vereda 2007:73f).

The social carrying capacity of a place is less tangible and more complex to assess than its environmental carrying capacity (cf. Pearce 2013:254). Two aspects stood out from my observations and conversations with research participants. On the one hand, residents felt that their needs were set back behind those of the tourists by city and tourism authorities. When the municipality installed zebra-crossings in the city centre in December 2011, a few research participants voiced their opinion about the motives behind this, with one of them suggesting: "They do that now, in the high season. They do it for the tourists, never for the school children." On the other hand, residents often perceived the benefits that local tourism development brought to the community as insufficient. As seen in Chapter 6, incongruities exist between different stakeholders' opinions about the use of landscape and urban transformations. While the manufacturing industry aims to use space for storing and freighting purposes, the tourism industry strives to commercialize space and place for touristic consumption. While both industries exploit space for their own purposes, many residents feel a balancing return for the community to be lacking. From the manufacturing industry, this return could be in the form of building new streets that are used for transport, while the tourism industry could economically contribute to environmental conservation projects, on the success of which the sectors depends (Worman 2011a:7).

These measures would help abate the concern many of my research participants voiced that tourism benefits excluded a great part of the population and bestowed its advantages on only a few community members – a local elite made up of a few businessmen and investors involved in tourism. Instead of benefitting economically from tourism as a community, many research participants felt that they were experiencing only its negative consequences, such as rising prices for goods and services which prevented many inhabitants from getting to know regional attractions or making a similar use of the city's recreational and gastronomic offers as a tourist. "Dollarized" prices, meaning prices that were oriented to foreign spending power instead of the national spending power based on Argentine wages, restricted local access to delicacies like spider crab (centolla), much advertised to tourists as one of the local must-try specialties. A research participant said that as prices for a barbecued meal (parrilla) in a downtown restaurant had risen from ARG$ 15 in 2006 to ARG$ 94 in 2012, he and his family did not frequent it anymore but had shifted to cheaper, off-centre restaurants or home-cooked

meals. While employees in Tierra del Fuego earn more than Argentines in other provinces, Vicente still perceived local prices to be too steep:

> "You earn, you earn... but the prices don't have anything to do with us because – we earn well, but at the same time those who bring the products sell them very expensively, very expensively they sell them, you know?"

The high prices are being justified by the cost of import from mainland Argentina, as well as the fact that no vegetables are commercially grown in Tierra del Fuego. The question remained for many of my research participants, however, whether the prices asked represented the real, and thus a fair, cost of goods. Vicente emphasized the sense of separation and injustice that he felt when considering the thought that the local economy focused on the tourist, not the resident:

> "What do [those prices] have to do with me? When I live here, or when I go out to eat, and I want to eat fish, something, you know – some sea food – what happens is that I will go to eat a 150 pesos [approx. US$ 26] meal. For tourists, that's not dramatic, but because a dollar for you is five pesos for me... that kills me. I go out to eat and I spend my whole salary, but why? Because everything is made for tourism and we... we don't exist, we're not here in this community, that's what I'm getting at, that's what kind of annoys me."

Some restaurants in the centre offered a discount to residents, as did a city tour I took part in. Julio suggested this scheme be applied to hotels as well, which would allow locals or visitors from other places in the province to explore tourist attractions that would otherwise be too expensive for them to visit. The National Park already had a two-price system, which was justified by Julio through the tax contributions Argentines made which helped to maintain the Park. While these efforts were lauded as positive first steps by my research participants, a widely spread perception was that the social dimension of local tourism policy was still lacking (cf. Villena et al. 2010:54).

Congestion, the overcrowding of public space, is another factor that contributes to the saturation of a place's carrying capacity and strains residents' acceptance of tourism's repercussions. My initial expectations of tangible, perturbing impacts – an overrun city centre teeming with tourists on the days that cruise ships arrived to Ushuaia – never manifested (cf. Diedrich 2010:235 on the effects of cruise tourism in Belize; Sørensen 2006:350ff on Cozumel, Mexico). However, existing issues around congestion, underlying the scenario that informed these first impressions, became evident over time. In the months that followed, I slowly learned to recognize cruise ship days. The streets would be busier for a few hours; elderly tourists would

casually stroll down the main commercial street and frequent the touristic souvenir shops. Departing ships would blow their horns. Upon arrival, still on the fenced-off landing pier, cruise tourists would be separated into groups depending on what activity they had booked, and carried off in hired buses. The excursion options for cruise tourists included a visit to the National Park, a cruise on the Beagle Channel, a visit to a historic farm (Estancia Harberton), a trip to Lake Fagnano, and a horse-back riding excursion (Jensen and Daverio 2004). Alternatively, passengers could opt out of planned excursions and visit the centre by themselves. While this dispersion spared the city centre from being overrun, in other areas the visitor groups created a vivid impression of overcrowding. The National Park, one of the most popular tourism destinations around Ushuaia, experienced an increase of tourists in high season with the consequence that solitude and relaxation, which both locals and visitors sought out from visiting it, were unachievable (Daverio et al. 2007).

When I visited the Park in high season, the minivan that had transported me from the city centre to the Park joined half a dozen other minivans at the reserve entrance. During my three-hour walk along well-used paths in the park, I had groups of tourists, both on guided tours and individuals, always in sight in front of and behind me. In strategic spots, tourists took turns to take a picture, often waiting for minutes before the opportunity to take a photo that showed only landscape, without other tourists in the frame, would arise. Vicente confessed to feeling annoyed and invaded by the number of visitors that flocked to places that were also frequented by locals:

> "[I feel] invaded in my territory. (…) When I want to go out and enjoy my weekend, I find myself invaded by tourism. Wherever I go there's tourism, and I don't find my space [no encuentro mi espacio]. I want to go out for dinner with my partner and everything is full. I want to go to the National Park to go camping and to relax with my grandkids, with my friends, and to play soccer, and there are all the vans and buses and wherever I go, I have to wait for the tourists to leave. I think that that can't be, there has to be an allowance for the local."

The inaccessibility of restaurants downtown and recreation facilities in Ushuaia's surroundings points to the nearing of saturation of Ushuaia's socio-cultural carrying capacity (cf. Mansfeld and Jonas 2006:584f; Williams and Gill 2013:438). Community members fear that the restriction of access Vicente raised will create a segregated place, or, as Julio phrased it, "a type of tourist city behind the city where the inhabitants live". While Julio saw economic reasons as a main factor in this process, he also admitted that there might be people who

> "auto-exclude themselves because of lack of interest, or because of an insensibility, for example an inferiority complex. [That inferiority] could be in regard to the tourist, or to the place – how a place presents itself. That's what happens in any city, isn't it? It's very difficult for someone to go and eat in a five star hotel for example."

This incongruity between the host community and the community branding[83] is indicative of the conflict between different stakeholders that dominates the public local discourses. It is also the reason why some research participants that I spoke to expressed a general dislike of cruise tourism, which they connected with the above discussed disadvantages to the everyday lives of residents. They favoured instead land-based tourism which they perceived to bring more direct economic benefits to the community, and to cause less congestion in areas of touristic interest. This view, however, was strongly contested by tourism authorities and some local social researchers (cf. Vereda and Mosti 2005 on (Antarctic) tourism). Nevertheless, as I will discuss in the following section, there exists a connection between touristic and urban development that manifests in profound challenges for the Ushuaian population.

### Repercussions from touristic and urban development: Space and accommodation

The municipality's plans for Ushuaia include yet more tourism-oriented infrastructure (cf. Chapter 4) and with this, a growth in visitor numbers. Both tourism and overall population growth pose challenges for the city that the proposed plans fail to address appropriately. At present, the changes and developments Ushuaia is undergoing include gentrification[84], social exclusion, a contested diffusion of tourism benefits, and a growing wealth gap among Ushuaian community members. The planned and ongoing urban developments are tailored to meet the growing demand of both residents and tourists for accommodation and amenities, but fail to

[83] Branding is here understood as "[t]he process involved in creating a unique name and image for a product in the consumers' mind, mainly through advertising campaigns with a consistent theme. Branding aims to establish a significant and differentiated presence in the market that attracts and retains (…) customers" (WebFinance 2014). Also see Stevenson 2013 on city branding.

[84] A definition that applies itself well to Ushuaia's case is Smith's: Gentrification as "the process (…) by which poor and working-class neighbourhoods in the inner city are refurbished via an influx of private capital and middle-class homebuyers and renters" (Smith 1996:30). This again is based on the principles of the capitalist society which regards land and the built environment as commodities (ibd. 1996:55). Gentrification in this perspective is "part of a larger redevelopment process dedicated to the revitalization of the profit rate" (ibd. 1996:85).

establish whether a modernized destination is what attracts and keeps tourists. In the following, I explore the outlined aspects in more depth.

Compared to other Argentine provinces, Tierra del Fuego has one of the lowest home ownership rates, with just over half of the population owning both the land and the house they live in (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2012e). As space in the growing city becomes more scarce and contested, real estate prices (both for buying and renting property) rise. This excludes parts of the population from the regularized property market (see Chapter 6; cf. Stokowski 1993:38f). An employee in the urban planning department of the regional government pointed out that most of the present-day construction occuring in the city is being realized by the private sector, and that

> "[i]n my personal opinion, there's nothing there in the private sector for the middle class, let alone for the working class. They can't afford 3,000 to 3,500 pesos [approx.US$ 600-700] of rent a month."

While it is not the only influencing factor, tourism development contributes to the exclusion of those parts of the population who cannot afford rising prices. Reports show that property supply is being further restricted by landlords preferring to rent rooms out to tourists who are able to pay higher rents than locals or newcomers (Villena et al. 2012:47). While local politicians propose regulating the real estate market by installing limits and guidelines for appropriate rent demands (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2011g; Prensa 2011c), at the time of my fieldwork, no such regulators were in place. The market conditions created stress and discontentment among many of my research participants.

Growth and its repercussions force parts of the population to carve out a space for themselves outside of the regulated real estate market at the fringes of the city. The displacement of local residents to non-central areas is a theme that has been widely reported on (Deery et al. 2012:68f; Moore et al. 2006:137; Smith 1996:26; Stokowski 1993:38ff; Zukin 1998:831). Vicente believed that as real estate demands continued to grow, the city's redeeming asset, its landscape (forest and green spaces), would have to be forfeited. Unlike stakeholders in the tourism sector and residents (both amenity migrants and Fueguinos desperate to hold on to the original, memory-rich topography) who fear for the city's natural surroundings, Vicente prioritised the needs of the newcomers and the less affluent population over the city's touristic capital:

> "If you can extend [living space] to this side, you can extend it to that side. That's why I tell you, the Parque Nacional [will be diminished]. (…) They don't want to put [newcomers] there 'because it's the National Paaaaaaark' [imitates whiny voice]. People – where will I live? Do they want me to live like that, what you saw [in an informal settlement], in a little house, they live like – they sleep on the floor, they live in a cardboard box. If they [municipality] have land over there…! And the National Park, for whom? The tourists? So that they can go and look at it? And that my brothers, or the people from here, live in poverty, on top of faecal matter and urine, up there?"

Vicente's pragmatic approach is countered by others who resist the appropriation of public space for industrial or private use. In 2012, David Pavlov, a local author, published a fictional account of deteriorating living conditions in Ushuaia in the local newspaper. He described how through the impact of planned urban development, the city changed from idyllic barrios close to nature in 1995 to a completely deforested environment without animal species in 2035 (Pavlov 2012).

The deterioration of the natural environment and encroaching urbanisation onto areas that used to be relatively undisturbed pose a challenge for future tourism developments. Francisco, the owner of a horseback riding business that also catered to cruise tourists, explained that due to current developments, his farm might have to relocate. Encroaching urbanisation was threatening his business, and Francisco was campaigning to have the surrounding land – which he uses for his tours – to be upgraded to 'reservation' status. This would entail the (re)creation of paths and circuits reserved for public and touristic use, which would mean the proposed area could not be used for urbanisation. If the reservation-upgrade proposal failed and no paths would be constructed, Francisco would see himself forced to move his business elsewhere as he believed that

> "[t]he place would lose its attraction. It's not the same to ride in a forest than to ride between cars. (…) This is not what we would want to show – leave the farm, wait until a lorry passes… Ushuaia is much prettier than this."

At the present moment, what the surroundings offered was a fast and easy access to nature. Francisco showed me a letter from the municipality that he felt had the purpose of intimidating him so that he would stop taking his clients into the forest, and proposing he stick to certain routes only. It appeared a big contradiction to him that on the one hand, the Secretariat of Tourism promoted Ushuaia as possessing a "beautiful countryside where you can

do horseback riding" and on the other hand, tried to enforce the changes the letter dictated.[85] Not being included in the touristic planning was annoying to Francisco, who felt as if he was betraying his clients if their expectations in the landscape were not met.

Contradictory ways of interacting with the physical environment create social tensions among different parts of Ushuaian society. While the tourism sector aims to use landscape as a tool for visual consumption, the manufacturing industry uses the urban environment as a source for physical exploitation. Along with ongoing population growth and the increased touristic use of the environment, perspectives that embrace the concept of stewardship collide with those that appropriate land for commercialization motives (cf. Urry 1995:174; Zukin 1998). The debates around land use, the prevalence of one industry over the other, and accommodation issues testify to the conflict these contradictory perspectives generate in Ushuaia.

### Heritage and authenticity

In this section, I show how the officially sanctioned touristic vision of Ushuaia that includes the alteration of parts of the natural and built environment could be counterproductive for tourism in the long run. Heritage and authenticity are highly valued among tourists, but do not appear to be treated as a valuable commodity by all tourism-relevant parties in Ushuaia. In a saturated city struggling to accommodate a rising number of inhabitants, it is hardly surprising that priorities can diverge from urban conservation to expansion. Amongst urban development processes that strive to modernise the city and threaten both its image of a quaint, picturesque place and Ushuaia's role as a popular tourist destination, conflicting notions of place emerge within the population.

Tourism, in its function of creating place as a commodity, is of central importance in this placemaking process. Ushuaian society leads a lively debate about whether its destiny and priorities are to be predominantly industrial or touristic (see Worman 2011a). The manufacturing and tourism industries compete for space and infrastructure and are divided in their use and perception of landscape. The manufacturing industry, urban planning, and the

[85] According to Francisco's account, the municipality did not base their attempt of making Francisco and his team use only certain, marked pathways on an existing (or planned) policy, but was acting on the potential interests of future residents in a zone that the municipality's urban planning department had selected for urban expansion.

above discussed changes to Ushuaia and its surroundings threaten the very appeal the place holds for tourists. The Strategic Plan for Touristic Development highlights the goal for Ushuaia to be a city with a differing, unique identity (Municipalidad de Ushuaia 2007:7) and includes an action plan for the improvement of its urban image, the promotion of "appropriate construction material- and style-wise [that] harmonizes with the landscape and the architecturally most typical patrimony" (Municipalidad de Ushuaia 2007:23). To what degree this action plan is being realized is a matter of debate among residents and tourists (see Ushuaia Patrimonio 2013; Ushuaia Patrimonio 2011a). Julio Lovece, ex-Secretary of Tourism, suggested that

> "a percentage of this tourism (…) perhaps suffers a certain disenchantment when they come to Ushuaia, because they did not expect to find a city (…) that impacted by the urban."

While the aim of the municipality is to increase Ushuaia's attraction for tourists, it is questionable whether contemporary urban developments fulfil this goal. Design and architecture that are appropriate to the natural surroundings of a place are essential to the touristic potential of the destination as they shape and feed the touristic gaze (Urry 2001[1990]:115). In my interviews and informal conversations, numerous Ushuaian inhabitants, most of them NyC or established residents, voiced their concern about the city losing character as historic buildings are replaced with modern, often high-rise buildings and the tranquillity of the natural surroundings is compromised by urban developments. Postmodernist uniformity is ultimately detrimental to the touristic interest the city holds apart from it being located at the self-proclaimed "end of the world". The transformation into a hybrid place at the expense of history, culture, and a unique place identity contributes to the un-making of a place (Chang 2012; Perlof and Salop 1985; cf. Chapter 4).

**Figure 5.5** Newly-built apartment complexes near the city centre, January 2012 (Photograph: A. Herbert).

Julio Lovece, the former Secretary of Tourism and an engaged activist for the conservation of the landscape, pointed out that many of the historic buildings in Ushuaia have been brought down, replaced by modern multi-storey cement buildings (see Figure 5.5),

> "whose urban code on top of that didn't respect the historical physiognomy of the place. Otherwise the city would have remained with a certain identity. However, many of the buildings that have been built in Ushuaia are buildings that can calmly be compared to any building in Buenos Aires."

This is troubling for a tourism-oriented place such as Ushuaia precisely because the quest for authenticity is central to many touristic endeavours (MacCannell 1973:594; Urry and Larsen 2011:10). A place is deemed authentic when visitors recognize "a consistent relationship between the physical and built environment and a given historical period" (Urry 1995:190). On the other hand, an environment is deemed inauthentic and artificial if it looks too modern and too planned – a fate that, arguably, Ushuaia is headed toward if the present urban development trends progress further. The value ascribed to authenticity is increased by the postmodern propensity towards reproduction and increasingly easy access to touristic destinations (Harrison et al. 2008:2) that also affects Ushuaia.[86] Tourism is also "a search for the photogenic" (Urry

[86] At the time of my fieldwork, there were multiple flights going to and from the city every day. An airport employee told me of the plans to further increase the rate of incoming flights in the following summer season. Since the expansion of the airport in 1995, the air connection to the city had been rapidly increasing, making access to Ushuaia easier and more comfortable.

1995:176) and the photogenic for many tourists is that which allows a look into society's authentic, unaltered back regions (MacCannell 1973:595). Many tourists seek to experience 'real' life in the destination community, which meets a set of criteria that identify it as authentic (Urry 1995:182).[87] Much like any place, Ushuaia would run the risk of being perceived as inauthentic, over-planned, or void of character if heritage buildings were increasingly replaced or overshadowed by high-rise or modern buildings that can be found anywhere around the world.

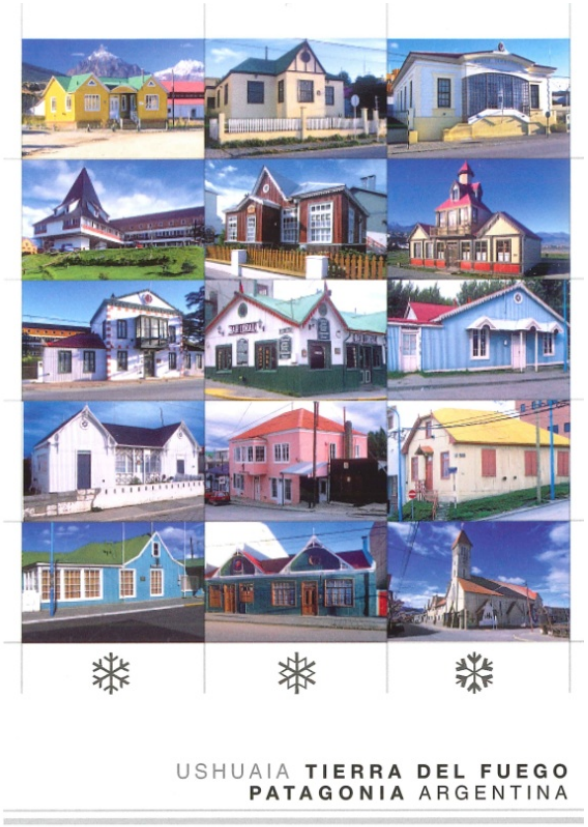



**Figure 5.6** Postcard depicting Ushuaia's oldest, traditional architecture.

While the search for authenticity is a key demand of many tourists, it is not the only one. The essence of a successful tourist destination lies in being unique, different from the everyday,

[87] Compare to the criteria for green tourism (low-impact, small-scale and ecologically conscious tourism) include "small-scale, local control, modest developments using local labour, buildings in 'traditional' style, the emphasis on personal contact with visitors, the eating of local produce, encouraging the understanding of the area's ecology and heritage, and the setting of limits to the growth of such developments so as to avoid a tourist mono-industry" (1995:182).

ordinary location that the tourist aims to step out of for a period of time (Urry 1995:189; Urry and Larsen 2011:13; cf. Zukin 1998:836f). The picturesque and quaint "postcard city" (Ushuaia Patrimonio[88] 2013) with its link to traditional architecture and history is recognized as attractive to tourists and identified as a marketable product (see Figure 5.6). At the same time, some residents have come to perceive this touristic, beautified version of their city as something that denies and tries to cover up the reality behind it. On the local blog Ushuaia Patrimonio, protests address the destruction of local identity, paradoxically done in the name of tourist development:

> "We create or destroy the city among all of us. And we are not talking about the postcard city for the tourists, which on the other hand is also necessary. We are referring to the daily construction of a cultural identity, a common denominator that allows us to identify as Ushuaians, beyond our places of origin." (Ushuaia Patrimonio 2013)

The socio-spatial ordering of the city and urbanisation processes that prioritise modernisation over heritage restoration and conservation create both an increasing separation between residents and endanger the city's touristic potential.

## Conclusion

Compared to the beginnings of contemporary mass and individual tourism worldwide, when tourism was hailed as a source of easy and fast economic income by policy makers, stakeholders, and social scientists, there is at present a higher awareness both among those directly affected and academia in general of the negative impacts that tourism can entail (Gill 2004:569). In Ushuaia, the visible disturbances brought on by population growth and cruise ship tourism include the congestion of both streets and public recreational facilities such as the National Park, restaurants, and cafés. Residents' access to these facilities becomes both physically and

[88] Ushuaia Patrimonio is a blog started in 2008 that names as its objective "to spread cultural patrimony and especially the architectural [patrimony] of the austral city". Its author describes himself as a residential architect and specialist in the conservation of patrimony, employed as an advisor for the National Commission of Museums and Monuments and Historic Sites of Tierra del Fuego (asesor por Tierra del Fuego de la Comisión Nacional de Museos y de Monumentos y Lugares Históricos), member and ex-president of the Argentine committee of the Global Council of Munuments and Sites (Comité Argentino del Consejo Mundial de Monumentos y Sitios (ICOMOS Argentina)), and member of the International Centre for the Conservation of Patrimony (Centro Internacional para la Conservación del Patrimonio (CICOP)) (Ushuaia Patrimonio 2013).

financially restricted as the local price level for goods and services rises to the level that the wealthier tourists are able to operate on.

As I have shown in this chapter, Ushuaia's socio-cultural and environmental carrying capacity is nearing saturation. Many residents I spoke to feel that their interests are deprioritised below those of the tourists. The community splits more noticeably into those who benefit from tourism and those who suffer the consequences. Working conditions in the tourism sector are challenging for those holding lower-waged positions and for freelance employees. The seasonality of cruise tourism leaves touristic guides vulnerable to contract work that finishes with the end of the high season. While residents' attitudes toward tourism clearly differ depending on engagement in and profit from it, certain types of tourism are perceived as more conducive to overall community development than others. Land-based tourism was perceived by many of my research participants as more beneficial than cruise tourism, whose passengers have only a few hours on shore and cause congestion issues in the visited places due to group size and overall numbers. Exceeding the carrying capacity of a place can, as the ultimate consequence, lead to a fading of interest on the visitors' part. With an overload of tourists and a perceived increase of altered, i.e. inauthentic, staged or tourism-oriented life among the host community, the potential of the city as a touristic destination decreases (cf. Williams and Gill 2013:431; Sheridan and Teal 2006:325). Unfavourable working conditions in tourism can cause an unwillingness of locals to work in the sector and hostility against tourists (Pearce 2013:254f)

The water and resource shortages and the traffic congestion I discussed earlier in this chapter are among the reasons why some residents have begun calling for growth management where tourism is concerned (Ayala et al. 2009). The currently employed quantity-focussed approach, as these residents argue, favours tourism operators and tourist service providers as well as real estate agents, but induces spatial issues and damage to the natural and cultural patrimony. Increased air connections and land access to Ushuaia are feared as detrimental to the community's environmental and social condition in this perspective. Social scientists agree that the social wellbeing of the host population must remain the goal of tourism development (cf. Gill 2004:572), which is intricately linked to environmental wellbeing. This is best summed up by what students enrolled in the tourism degree at the local university in Ushuaia state:

> "The best hotels aren't worth it if the tourists inside through their windows see slopes filled with precarious settlements with a population living in miserable conditions instead of a landscape of mountains and forests." (Ayala et al. 2009, translation mine)

Tourism as part of Ushuaia's migratory pull factor touches on the city's social phenomena such as the informal settlements, the changing socio-cultural and socio-spatial makeup, and the landscape and architectural alterations the city is experiencing. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that tourism can also contribute to the cultural or traditional revival of a place, be it through the restoration or appraisal of traditional buildings (cf. Ushuaia Patrimonio 2011a), the increase of recreational activities such as festivals and community events (Andereck et al. 2005:1057f), or the development of residents' pride in their home town (Edgell 1993:217).

However, both the public debate and personal perceptions of many of my research participants were dominated by the negative impacts of tourism and urban development. Residents would likely report less irritation with urban developments if the community profited in a more direct and noticeable way. Similar to a case Matarrita-Cascante (2009:118f) describes for a Costa Rican tourist boom town, community satisfaction could rise with improved access to economic and educational opportunities, equally distributed access to urban services, and a more active involvement in decision-making processes linked with urban development. The absence of these facilitates social discontent among some residents, as was the case at the time of my fieldwork. Both the plans for modernization that the tourism sector holds (see Chapter 4) and the changing local architecture through private real estate construction represent hegemonic views that "[utilize] the discourse of 'modernization' to legitimize inequality" (Guano 2002:182).

Inequality in Ushuaia is inseparable from urban development and is intimately linked with placemaking. Processes of spatial segregation entail increasing social polarization (Guano 2002:185; see Chapter 8, in which some of the consequences of this will be discussed in more depth). As social capital is divided unequally amongst Ushuaian residents and is tied in with socio-spatial organisation, differing parts of the population react differently to the challenges caused or reverberated by tourism and urban development. The touristic image that Ushuaian government and tourism authorities promote foregoes the issues faced by the growing community. It disregards differing place-based aspirations amongst Ushuaian residents, particularly those of economic migrants who are mostly unaffiliated with tourism. In the following chapter, I explore the place-based outlooks of economic migrants, or NyC, and show how they both intersect with tourism and challenge the ascribed image of Ushuaia as a homogeneous tourism-focused community.

# 6 Informal settlements and tourism

> He didn't see the generous forest anymore, (...) the forest like a green scarf that wrapped up the city. Now he looked at the trees as the territory of them.
>
> (In: Hernández' novel Usurpas, 2010:19)

> [The world's squatters] are excluded, so they take. But they are not seizing an abstract right, they are taking an actual place: a place to lay their heads. This act – to challenge society's denial of place by taking one of your own – is an assertion of being in a world that routinely denies people the dignity and the validity inherent in a home.
>
> (Robert Neuwirth, 2005:311)

When standing with one's back to the Beagle Channel, facing Ushuaia's mountains to the North-East, one notices that part of the forest at the base of the mountains is cleared. Little houses and huts in irregular intervals are built there, their tin roofs gleaming when the sun catches them. This is El Escondido (ironically named so, as it translates to "the hidden one"), the most prominent of Ushuaia's informal settlements[89]. In 2012, police and municipality records estimated that there were fifteen settlements, inhabited by approximately 4,000 to 5,000 people, or 700 to 800 families (Rodrigo, pers. comm. 2012).

Squatting, the unauthorized occupation of private or governmental land (McFarlane 2009), is a mirror of political and economic developments in the country it occurs in. In affluent Western societies in the past, squatting was often fuelled by leftist anti-capitalism and anti-consumerist convictions (Chatterton 2002; Guzmán-Concha 2008; Owens 2008). The squats in Ushuaia represent a fraction of the estimated one billion squatters, or one of every six people worldwide (Neuwirth 2005:9), that live in informal settlements, favelas, shadow or edge cities.

[89] I encountered various terms for these settlements in Ushuaia. The most commonly used one was illegal settlements (asentamientos ilegales), followed by human settlements (asentamientos humanos), irregular settlements (asentamientos irregulares), the elevated zone (la zona alta) as a general term that could encompass both informal settlements and legalized barrios, and, occasionally, squats (ocupas). I will use what I perceive to be the most accurate, least biased term, informal settlements. This term refers to those settlements that are not recognised as legal by government authorities and whose occupants do not hold land titles issued to them by municipality.

The global financial crisis and the bursting of the housing bubble in the early 2000s have increased squatting for mainly economic reasons due to eviction, unemployment, and the lack of affordable state housing in many Western cities (Lehrer and Winkler 2006; Martínez 2007; Stelfox 2013). The local squats are also indicative of global patterns reproduced in Ushuaia, of the connections between urbanisation and migration in a globalising world, where rural migration to the city results in the growth of informal settlements and an increasing part of the urban population struggling to find affordable or adequate accommodation.

In Ushuaia, informal settlements combine two incentives: They house both those who cannot afford otherwise, and those who prefer to live a simpler, slower-paced lifestyle than they find in the growing city (Guazzone di Passalacqua 2011). In this chapter, I explore aspects arising from immigration and unregulated urban expansion. I discuss how informal settlements are perceived from the inside (the settlers themselves) and the outside (the city dwellers), and present an informal settlement that defies common depictions held in the city. This chapter shows the connections between the urban planning issues Ushuaia encounters (see Chapter 7) and the existing informal settlements. Finally, I outline links to tourism, both from city dwellers' and informal settlers' perspectives.

**Table 6.1** Overview of principal research participants in Chapter 6

| | |
|---|---|
| **Academia** | Felipa – lecturer at Ushuaian university, in her late 40s, migrated to Ushuaia from Buenos Aires in late 1980s |
| **Government administration** | Natalia – government employee at the port administration, in her 40s, immigrated to Ushuaia in the mid-1990s from Mendoza<br>Nicolás – employed at Secretary of Urban Planning at the municipality, in his late 30s, originally from Buenos Aires |
| **Informal settlers** | Flor – informal settler in her early 30s, cleaner at central hostel. Migrated from Formosa to Ushuaia in late 2000s<br>Pablo – informal settler in his 40s, employed as baggage handler at airport. Migrated from Northern Patagonia to Ushuaia in early 2000s<br>Catalina – informal settler in her late 30s, employed at central gym. Migrated from Northern Patagonia in early 2000s |
| **City services** | Rodrigo – chief police officer, in his 40s |
| **Other** | Amalia – Ushuaia-born resident in her 80s, retired nurse |

Much of the ethnographic information in this chapter was collected in the settlement of Las Raíces, which I describe in more depth in a later section. Following a chance encounter on the street in 2011, I became acquainted with a couple who acted as community organisers in this settlement. In the subsequent months, I spent lots of time visiting the settlement and gradually gained more insights into the struggles and challenges connected with living in often

precarious conditions at the physical and metaphorical edge of the city. Participant observation and extensive conversations and interviews with Catalina and Pablo, as well as countless interactions with their neighbours and other inhabitants of Las Raíces, are my main data sources from this settlement. I also became acquainted with several residents in El Obrero, a settlement in the north-east of Ushuaia's elevated zones, through Flor, who was my colleague at one of the hostels I work-exchanged at. Through Esmeralda, another colleague in the same hostel, I befriended Esmeralda's sister, who lived in a widely spaced settlement deep in the forest near Las Raíces, close to the settlement of Dos Banderas. To varying degrees during my fieldwork, I was fascinated, charmed, or concerned by the living conditions and personal or collective arrangements of social organisation in the settlements. Many of my ethnographic observations are based on my participant observation and interactions with residents from these three settlements. To a lesser degree, they are based on impressions from other settlements such as El Escondido, Andorra, and La Bolsita, settlements that I visited only a few times during my fieldwork.

While these settlements are very diverse in socio-cultural, socio-economic, and political makeup and organisation, they all serve as examples for the (socio-spatial) Othering processes outlined in Chapter 3. Established residents or NyC who accuse economic migrants or VyQ of threatening Ushuaia's touristic image and performance, abusing the welfare system, and overcrowding the city, often use informal settlements as manifestations of the validity of these accusations. They also serve as strident examples for the inequal distribution of capital and benefits among Ushuaian residents. Finally, the informal settlements allow conclusions to be drawn regarding the socio-economic and socio-spatial aspects of placemaking. While many of the established residents or NyC that I spoke to assume that informal settlers have a weak place attachment and sense of place and are transient inhabitants, the results from my own research suggest a more complex and varied scenario.

### Settlement demographics

In a report on Ushuaia's population in 2010 (Secretaría de Hacienda 2012), the government divides the city in two parts: the old (antigua) and the new Ushuaia (see Figure 6.1). The new areas did not appear in the 2001 equivalent of the report, indicating that the 5,038 inhabitants of the new zones are being recorded for the first time.

Of the fifteen or more officially recorded informal settlements, the best-known and most populated, El Escondido, was started in 2005 with about a dozen dwellings. At the time of my fieldwork, the settlement had expanded to well over two hundred dwellings with approximately one thousand inhabitants (Rodrigo, pers. comm. 2012). The settlements have electricity that has been diverted illegally from existing lines. According to a report made to the National Government by the Provincial Institute of Housing (Instituto Provincial de Vivienda, IPV), many of the inhabitants of El Escondido are young foreign families with pre-school aged children. The sanitary conditions in the settlement are reportedly among the worst in the province (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2007b). Other settlements such as Valle de Andorra, in the northern part of the elevated barrios of Ushuaia, have fewer dwellings and are less densely populated. Of Andorra's approximately one hundred dwellings, only around forty per cent are permanently inhabited (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2007b).

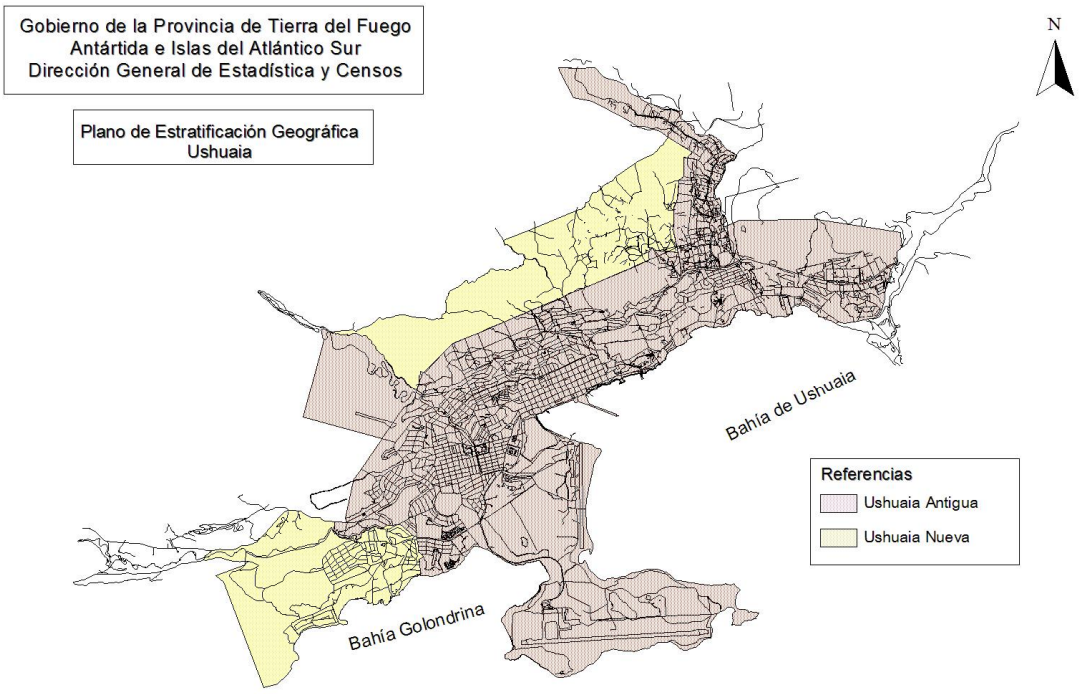



**Figure 6.1** Map depicting 'new' and 'old' Ushuaia (Source: Secretaría de Hacienda 2012).

Most of the settlements are located at the north-eastern fringes of the city, occupying land that used to be bush, green space, or forest (see Figure 6.2). The elevation of these locations result in logistical challenges for the supply and handling of services, particularly water.

The settlements' locations are the source of much criticism from city dwellers, as an ongoing deforestation carries with it the risks of landslides and a deterioration of the landscape. A recurring point of discontent among city dwellers is that due to the habitual water cuts[90] throughout Ushuaia, they pay for water that they not receive, while the occupants of the informal settlements divert water directly from the municipal water supply without paying for it. The pollution of freshwater due to the lack of basic services adds health concerns for both city dwellers and settlers to the environmental challenge. Not all settlements are visible from the city, as some locations were consciously chosen by occupants to be more removed from the urban hub. Most of the houses are precarious-looking, built of recycled material and unfinished, but there are also some more elaborate constructions, especially in the barrios higher up the mountainside and in the forest.

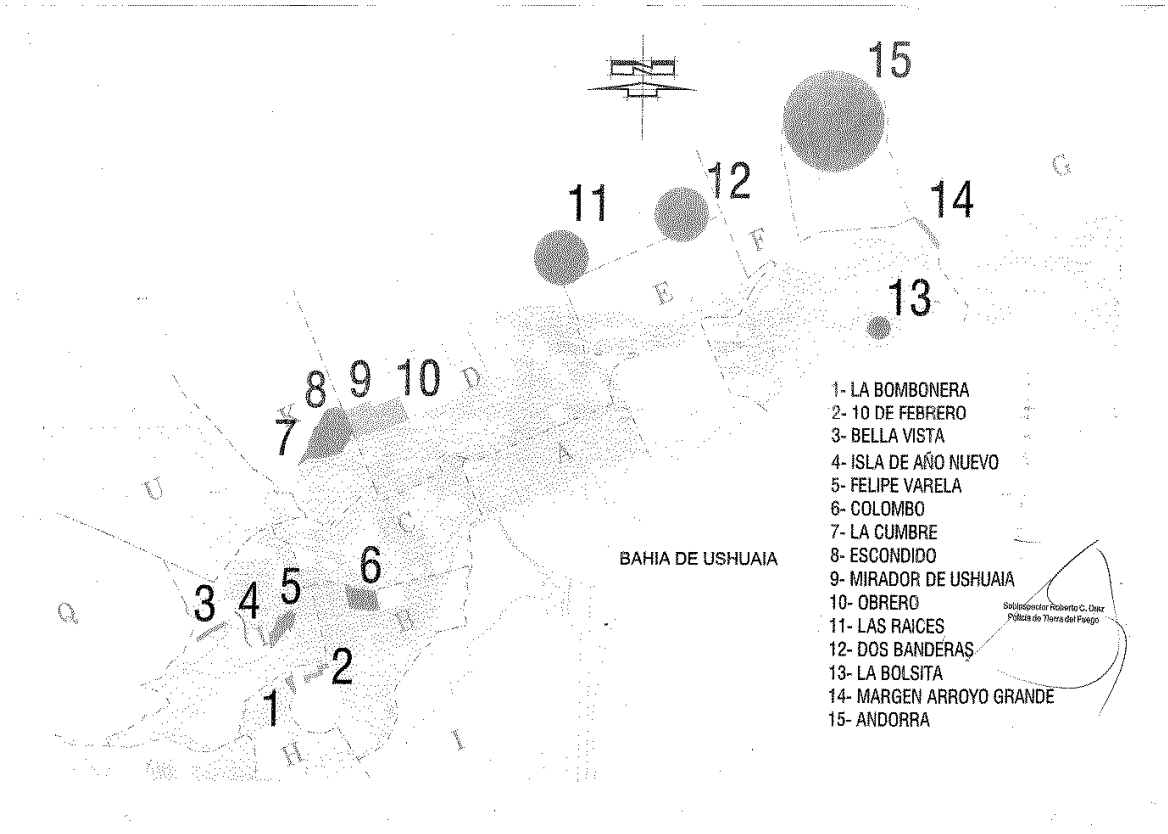



**Figure 6.2** Map of informal settlement locations (Source: Policía Científica, Provincia de Tierra del Fuego 2011).

[90] The water cuts are the consequences of an overwhelmed infrastructure system struggling to keep up with a rapid increase in demand as the city's population grows.

Almost half (47%) of the informal settlers in Ushuaia are from the province of Tierra del Fuego. Twenty-two per cent are from Buenos Aires Province, approximately 6% each from the provinces of Jujuy and Córdoba, and almost 5% from Chile, among others. Of those settlers that were not born in the province of Tierra del Fuego, three quarters have been living in Tierra del Fuego between 10 and 30 years (Secretaría de Hacienda 2012). This contradicts a stereotype circulating among city dwellers that alleges the typical informal settler to be from outside of the province or from a neighbouring country (a common assumption, often accompanied by a derogatory tone of voice, was that "[t]hey're all Bolivians"[91]), and to be of a highly transitory nature. Some of my research participants, for example, argued that informal settlers "stay for two, three years until they have filled their pockets with money, then leave." On a wider scale, these figures challenge the stereotypical characterisations of VyQ as residents with a weak sense of place and low level of place attachment that NyC and established residents employ in their separating of Ushuaia's population into Us and Them.

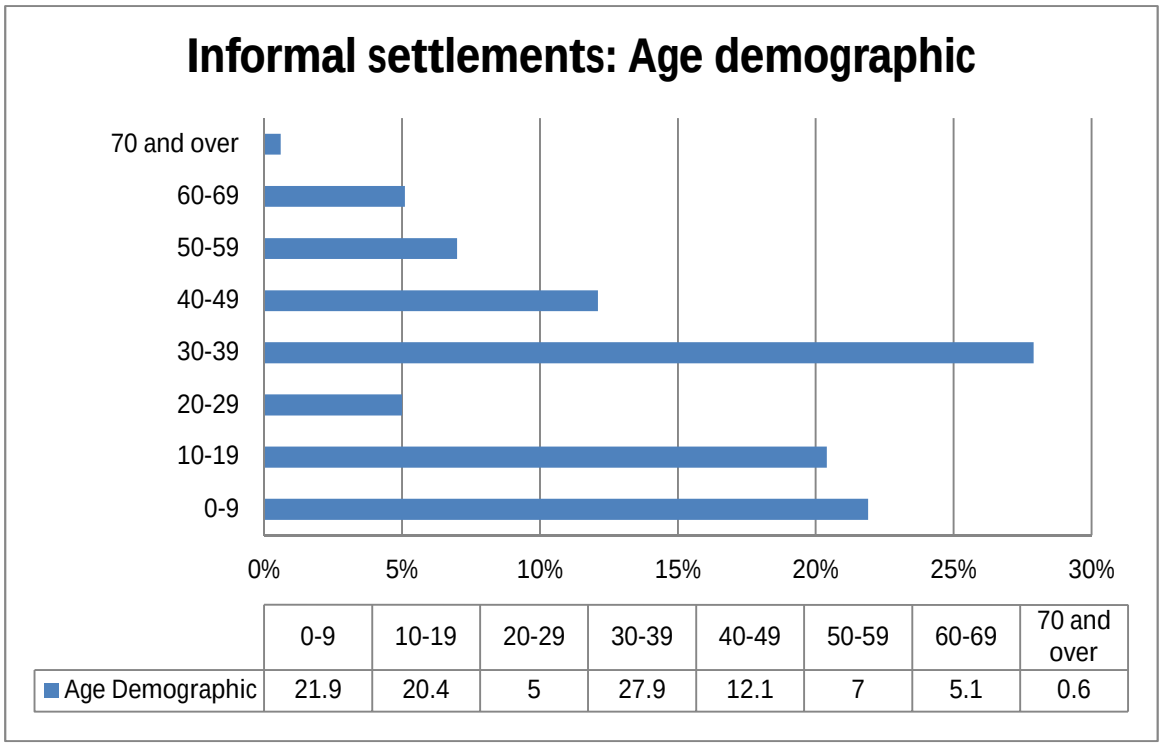



**Figure 6.3** Age demographic in informal settlements (Source: Secretaría de Hacienda 2012).

[91] See Pisarro 2010.

Most informal settlers (75%) are under 40 years of age (Figure 6.3), of which approximately a third are dependent children. There are only a few elderly people (5.7%), indicative also of the harsh living conditions in the settlements.

### Why are there informal settlements?

Ushuaia is a city that was made through seizing land. When the first Argentine settled there at the end of the nineteenth century, he settled on indigenous land. When at the turn of the twentieth century, the Argentine government decided to increase population in its southernmost town to strengthen its foothold in Patagonian territory, it stimulated migration by creating conditions favourable for industry and workers. Arriving newcomers established themselves independently on land, then legitimized their occupancy by paying for it after having settled, a process that was endorsed by the government. Employees who worked for the municipality were encouraged to fence off land for themselves at their discretion (Felipa, pers. comm. 2011). With the rapid growth that occurred in the 1980s after the Law of Industrial Promotion had been installed, up to 80% of the city's population had at one point informal occupants (Hernández 2010:230; Turin De La Llosa 2010:87). Housing and urban planning became a problem in Ushuaia, and independent land claims were no longer promoted by the government. The governmental rhetoric concerning occupants changed from informal settlements to illegal settlements after 2001, the year in which Argentina's economic crash provoked increased migration to Ushuaia that surpassed the city's need for workers and population and exceeded its capability to integrate them (cf. Benjamin 2008; Priemus 1983; Yeoh 2001).

Arriving in Ushuaia nowadays, migrants face an increasingly tough labour market, especially those of a working-class background. Most of the migrants do not find employment in well-paid or higher-skilled occupations, let alone in tourism, one of Ushuaia's main market economies after positions in government and work in the factories. A social worker, Vicente, explained that since tourism has become a university career, this line of work has become professionalized, leaving many job seekers without a chance. Most of Ushuaia's national reputation as an El Dorado stems from the well-paying manufacturing industry (see previous chapter). As this sector of work imposes rigid application restrictions, many migrants are automatically excluded from a job at its manufacturing belts.

The already difficult situation that newcomers are subjected to is worsened by the chronic shortage of available housing in Ushuaia. In 2011 and 2012, the majority of rental places advertised in newspapers or online were overseen by property managers who demanded a minimum of two years of occupation, and frequently charged more than US$ 400 in rent per month. The privately offered rooms were equally high-priced, often in peripheral areas, and of poor or very poor quality.[92] Property owners prefer to rent to tourists instead of locals (Frías and Gessaga 2010). When asked how the ongoing construction work in the city might influence the housing crisis, an employee in the urban planning department of the regional government pointed out to me that most of this is being realized by the private sector. Based on the necessary economic fluidity – he calculated with a monthly rent of ARG$ 3,000 to 3,500 (approximately US$ 520-610) – the developments are aimed at the upper middle class and the upper class, excluding the middle and working classes.

The informal settlers I spoke to told me they had moved in with relatives or friends for a period of time, rented for a while (usually until they ran out of money if they did not manage to find stable work) or, in a few rare cases, gone directly to the settlements to try and secure a spot there. The latter is becoming increasingly hard to do, as the municipality's efforts to stop squatting have intensified. Private security companies, hired and paid by the municipality, have set up little guard houses next to access ways to the settlements, inspecting cars entering to make sure no building material is being brought in.

The cost of living has become too high for many of the people coming to or already living in the city. In the past, when the manufacturing industry was being established in Tierra del Fuego and people were encouraged to move south, newcomers were helped with property and given support to establish themselves in Ushuaia. Today, the city is no longer an economic haven for those coming from the North. Legally established residents view migrants with distrust, perceiving them as a drain on the system and an unwelcome addition to an already complex and changing social landscape.

[92] At the time of my fieldwork, it was possible to rent a single bed in a cramped three-bed room for ARG$ 1,000 (US$ 175) per month.

### Different motivations for squatting: Lifestyle, speculation, and necessity

It is worth mentioning that not all residents of informal settlements live there for the same reasons, even though in public discourse, settlers are usually constructed as a homogeneous group (cf. Riggins 1997:5). I found people's motivations to squat to be threefold. For one, there are reasons of lifestyle choices – I met several people in their twenties, often members of long-established families with their own houses in the city, who prefer to lead a more liberated, tranquil lifestyle away from the centre. They erect their houses in the forest, consciously paying attention to views, free space and undisturbed nature around them (Figure 6.4).

**Figure 6.4** A house in an informal settlement that was built and is inhabited mainly for lifestyle-related reasons (Photograph: A. Herbert).

Second, there are those territories that are seized not for personal use but with the intention of selling[93] them (cf. Jimenez 1982; Roberts 1992). Research participants would point out land in their informal settlements that was fenced off but uninhabited, with structures of

[93] While some of the local informal settlements have been legalised or are currently in the process of being legalised, allowing their inhabitants to acquire a legally recognised ownership title, the majority of the informal settlements were, in my perception, far removed from legalisation. However, many informal settlers that I spoke to expressed their hope that they would eventually acquire official land rights through occupancy. Regardless of this legal uncertainty, at the time of my fieldwork, plots were sold and bought informally already, and more plots were being occupied in the expectation that they would one day render profit.

varying quality built on it, and remark that this was land that was used for speculation. Speculation operates on the assumption that the land in question will eventually become urbanized and fully serviced, legally allowing for it to be lived on, sold, and bought. Marco, an informal settler who had been living in Las Raíces for three years, explained that in some cases, speculators used the land in the summer months for social activities with their friends, then abandoned the property when the weather turned. This behaviour, including loud partying, alcohol consumption, and the use of recreational drugs, mirrors the negative images city dwellers hold about settlers as being irresponsible, hedonistic and antisocial, and further damages the overall reputation of the settlements.

Due to the repercussions all informal settlers suffer because of speculators, they ranked lowest in the hierarchical estimations of both my city dwelling and squatting research participants. Informal settlers from Comodoro Rivadavia displayed similar viewpoints about a moral hierarchy, suggesting that claims were only acceptable if the land was actively occupied (Valdez et al. 2010:105). Occupation means enduring hardship – the constant threat of eviction; social stigmatization; negotiating with authorities; dealing with the cold, and struggling to secure basic services such as access to water, sewerage and electricity systems. Speculators who have the option of relocating to fully serviced houses in legalized parts of the city benefit from those informal settlers who are forced to stay on. By being present in the informal settlements year-round, the settlers prevent an easy eviction and annihilation of the dwellings by government authorities. Not unlike the view city dwellers hold of informal settlers, the settlers themselves feel it unfair that speculators profit from their efforts and struggles.

**Figure 6.5** Houses in an informal settlement that were built mainly for necessity-related reasons (Source: Policía Científica, Provincia de Tierra del Fuego 2011).

I estimate the third group of informal settlers, those who occupy spaces at the fringes of the city because they cannot afford to rent in the city itself, to be the biggest in size. Rather than choosing a secluded place at a distance from the city centre for lifestyle reasons or the desire for increased autonomy, this group finds itself involuntarily pushed to the margins of the city. Transport to and from work becomes an inconvenience especially in winter (cf. La Mantia 2011), with settlers having to cover difficult terrain and large distances on foot and by public transport if their resources do not allow for a private car. With no heated place in the city to escape to during the cold season, these settlers are forced to overwinter in often dire conditions and cramped quarters (Figure 6.5). Mobility is limited when small children are part of the family, as unsecured pathways and arduous ascents and descents pose considerable risks and strains for both children and their parents. Daily life is made more difficult by the lack of basic services and a working sewage system.

**Figure 6.6** A kitchen in an informal settlement whose owners moved there for necessity-related reasons (Photograph: A. Herbert).

**Figure 6.7** The inside of a house in an informal settlement whose owners moved there for lifestyle-related reasons (Photograph: A. Herbert).

The homes of those who squat because of necessity differ in architecture, building materials, and décor from the homes erected for lifestyle reasons. The different levels of adaptation and comfort indicate differing levels of choice, liquidity, and aspirations (Figures 6.6 and 6.7).[94] More importantly perhaps, they point to differing levels of involvement in or access to social networks within and between different informal settlements and collective involvement in managing everyday life. Based on my observations in four different informal settlements (Las Raíces, El Obrero, Dos Banderas, and El Escondido) and interviews and conversations in the field, the level of collective activism, political interest, and according networking was higher in those settlements that combined lifestyle and necessity motivations as the principal motivating reasons of existence. Of those settlers I encountered who used their dwellings only for part of the year or squatted for mainly lifestyle-related reasons, there seemed to be a higher degree of political apathy or distinterest. This is arguably so because these settlers

[94] For example, a dwelling whose owners can be classified as mainly lifestyle-oriented settlers is likely to be more spacious, more carefully and exclusively decorated, more secluded, and might house fewer inhabitants. The architectural set-up of those lifestyle-oriented dwellings that I visited tended to be more carefully planned and executed, which is likely to be linked with more economic resources and/or more time for planning, which possibly indicates a lesser amount of circumstantial urgency. On the other hand, dwellings in informal settlements that were inhabited by settlers who operated principally from economic necessity were often shabbier, more precarious-looking, built from less permanent materials, and cramped. This was likely due to a higher degree of circumstantial, i.e. economic, urgency at the time of usurpation, and possibly motivated by more practical less longterm-oriented settling aspirations than lifestyle settlers.

often had more choices and access to a higher level of economic resources, and less of an immediate need for infrastructural improvements and jurisdictional legalisation of the settlement. In settlements whose inhabitants had a mainly economic incentive or regarded their stay in the settlement as a transitional solution only, I encountered a weaker collective structure. While I have no long-term data to support this assumption, it stands to reason that a stronger interest in the political and social organisation of everyday life would likely increase the longevity of the informal settlement and potentially improve the image established residents have of the average informal settler. As such, it could help to lessen the stark differences and Othering processes that are presently occurring in Ushuaia.

### Social tensions because of the informal settlements: Us and Them

> "As long as people can obtain things for free, they will continue to think that 'yes yes, it's good to be poor. It's good to have twenty-five kids in a 4x4 [metre] house.' We will keep generating and maintaining this mentality."
>
> (City dweller, 40)

Van Aert (2010) reports that when queried about the most favourable solution to the housing crisis, city dwellers prefer the implementation of new laws that curtail immigration to Ushuaia. This option scored higher than alternatives such as the reorganization of existing urban space, the establishment of a new urban zone on the island, and the founding of new barrios around the city (van Aert 2010:233). This anti-immigration position manifests in a debate that structures the housing crisis in terms of opposed parties. The primary circulating narrative among city dwellers is that Ushuaia is made up of two sorts of people: those who live in the city because they value the surroundings (mostly established residents, NyC and long-term VyQ), and those who are there temporarily and for economic reasons only. City dwellers allege that the first group values the land and takes care of it, while the second group systematically abuses it for their own purpose (see Chapter 3). The proof for this abuse, city dwellers claim, lies in the deforestation in the hills behind the city, which is where settlers have cleared space for their makeshift houses.

The prevalent opinion in the city about those living in informal settlements is unfavourable, as the settlers are perceived as anti-social, and the settlements as dangerous. A local university lecturer cautioned me that if I had to visit a settlement, I should go "with at least

three people [since] it's no-man's land. They are people from the outside; nobody knows where they came from" (Felipa, pers. comm. 2011). The use of this hyperbole – nobody – implies that there is a dialogic process of Othering in place: Only particular kinds of people count as somebodies. The use of other terms is equally indicative of negative associations with informal settlements: A member of the police force, pointing out a photograph of Ushuaia in the 1960s, remarked that "the mountains were still clean" (limpias), by which he meant that there were no houses on them yet. Similarly, a different employee in the municipality referred to the settlements as stains (manchas). The outsiders are invariably perceived as poor people from the North and frequently also from neighbouring countries, especially Peru and Bolivia. The rising crime rate, soiled glacial water flowing down to the city, and the overwhelmed medical facilities are all blamed on the settlers. City dwellers talk of long queues of "illegal people" at the free health clinics and a shortage of available medicine for themselves.

A police inspector suggested that while Tierra del Fuego has a comparatively low crime index, the rising crime rate is due to migrants from the North. According to him, the "new modalities of crime" such as trickery and robberies, show that the growing crime rate can be traced back to new migrants.[95] In the perception of longer-standing residents, Ushuaia has changed from "a place where you can leave your car unlocked"[96] and where "everybody knows everybody" to a city where increased police patrols in the centre and the planned implementation of a camera system is necessary "for visitors and citizens to feel safe" (Rodrigo, pers. comm. 2012). This is traced back to the increasingly perceived anonymity that goes along with a growing city that has its share of recent migrants. The assumption that people living in the settlements are "from the outside", and the underlying assessment of them as intruders and not part of the trusted circle, was confirmed in many conversations. At the same time, with the linkage of informal settlers' perceived immorality, city dwellers construct settlers not only as outside of the legal system (illegal), but also outside of the dominant morality (Guber 1984:124; Taket et al. 2009:15). Evidently, what is at stake is the standing of powerful class and status groups within Ushuaian society who practise social closure, i.e. exclude another social group

[95] I have not been able to find other sources that could either verify or falsify these claims.

[96] Rodriguez (2008:159) refers to Ushuaia in the 1970s as "a big family."

from access to wealth, power, and status (cf. Taket et al. 2004:23), to protect their access to various resources and maintain their dominant power positions in society.[97]

The emphasised separation between us (Fueguinos and long-term residents) and them (outsiders, foreigners, people "from the North") is also recognized by the newcomers themselves. Fueguinos are perceived as stand-offish, noticeably colder in their demeanour and less community-oriented than their compatriots in the North. As Flor, an informal settler in her mid-thirties noted,

> "The Fueguinos are very different. I think that the Fueguinos have always had everything. They are people who get mad at people who came from other places. (...) They say that we usurp. They say that there are Fueguinos who have been living here for forty years and they don't have their own house."

Othering processes can be especially pronounced when different groups within the society in which they take place are competing for limited resources. This is the case in Ushuaia, where sufficient space, natural landscape and employment opportunities are becoming scarcer. As shown in Chapter 3, Ushuaian society is, at least informally, divided into four groups: Nacidos y criados (NyC), those who were born and raised in Ushuaia, and Venidos y Quedados (VyQ), those who came from outside of the province and stayed. Furthermore, there are the Traidos a la fuerza (TaF), those who came solely for employment reasons, and the Venidos a jorobar (VaJ), those who "came to cause trouble". Referring to the original newspaper article that first mentioned this separation, Lovece argues that

> [t]hose of us who remember this story know that in the end the majority of [the TaF] ended up becoming VyQ, albeit with a great uprooting, [and] very little identification with the place where we live, which has left a deep mark on our society. (Lovece 2011a)

Following this notion, the informal settlers, supposedly transient people who come with an expected return date (after a few seasons or even years) in mind, would be identified as TaF, which holds a negative connotation of tax-evasion and second-class citizenship. Flor, an Argentine woman from the northern province of Salta, who has been squatting since 2007, made an additional distinction in this category, separating those living in informal settlements

[97] Ushuaia's gated community (barrio cerrado) is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

into foreigners[98] and Argentines. She argued that unlike foreigners, Argentines have a more easily justifiable right to the land:

> "All of this [land] fills up with foreigners – Bolivians, Peruvians, Paraguayans. So then I started thinking – if you as an Argentine don't use a piece of Argentine land [what's going to happen?] That all of those coming from the outside use Argentine land like nothing and you are left renting a place, thinking, Why do they live there and use everything?"

This further division correlates with a hierarchization that lifts native Argentines from the bottom of the social ladder. It shifts the attention from illegal occupation to (illegal) immigration, attempting to create both a break from accusation for Argentine settlers and a justification for existing occupation by Argentines. In many conversations, illegal immigrants pushing the medical welfare system to its limit and using up resources such as vaccinations and medicine to the detriment of native Argentines were the recipients of much scorn. The delimitation the Argentine settler made by stigmatising a subordinate sub-sector within the overall marginalised group of informal settlers is an attempt to increase her own social capital and acceptance among the dominant group of city dwellers (cf. Guber 1999). These processes have to be understood as placemaking at national scale, complementing the placemaking processes that occur at urban level in Ushuaia.

Nevertheless, among city dwellers, Argentines from economically weak Northern provinces are similarly ostracized and perceived as opportunists from the outside: They have come to take advantage of the fragile wealth the island has to offer, without making a long-term commitment to brave the hostile environment and help secure Ushuaia's economic standing for the future. A sense of island solidarity is frequently called upon: Those who are from Tierra del Fuego deserve more compassion, sympathy, support than those recently arrived from other provinces. This is the essence of Othering processes that divide the population into Us and Them. Figure 6.8 illustrates how residents, well-aware of these processes, appropriate the assumptions to use them to their advantage in their struggle to find accommodation (or, at least, not be mistaken as Other and suffer the according social repercussions). On February 9, 2012, a local newspaper published an article that presented the case of three local Ushuaian

[98] In Ushuaia, there are an estimated 9% foreign residents overall; in the settlements there are less than 1.6% foreigners (see Secretaría de Hacienda 2012:46f).

families who had at the time of the publication already spent twenty-one days illegally occupying the municipal camping ground on the outskirts of Ushuaia because they could not find affordable accommodation in town.

Camping Municipal del Valle de Andorra

# Tres familias cumplen 21días de acampe en predio municipal

En el sector se exhiben banderas con inscripciones que indican "Somos fueguinos", en repudio a las diversas versiones que circularon en los medios de prensa local, que denunciaban que se trataba de personas recién llegadas a la provincia. El grupo exige una "solución urgente" a la problemática de la falta de vivienda.

Hoy se cumplen veintiún días del acampe que realizan tres familias de Ushuaia en el Camping Municipal del Valle de Andorra, cuyo acceso por el momento se encuentra bloqueado y con custodia policial, pese a ser un espacio público. En la entrada al predio en cuestión los ocupantes colocaron banderas con inscripciones que indican "Somos fueguinos", como repudio a las diversas versiones que circularon en los medios de prensa local, que denunciaban que se trataba de personas recién llegadas a la provincia.

Las familias ya habían intentado usurpar uno de los módulos habitacionales emplazados en el sector que, por estos días, se encuentran desocupados y que fueron construidos por el Municipio para concretar el traslado de los habitantes del asentamiento de 10 de Febrero.

Uno de los vecinos involucrados, Mario Ontivero, destacó a EDFM que "nosotros no estamos usurpando, sino que estamos acampando, porque la empresa que presta servicios del Municipio nos han dejado en este camping, sin ninguna asistencia". Así remarcó que "lo que nos preocupa es que ahora por orden de la señora Zunilda Plechuk (encargada del programa de Hábitat y Ordenamiento Urbano de la Municipalidad de Ushuaia) no nos dejan salir a comprar nada, ni siquiera los insumos para los chicos y hasta colocaron una garita de control de Magui–Mar".



Las familias que acampan en el Valle de Andorra colocaron banderas con inscripciones que indican "Somos fueguinos".

No obstante, el entrevistado –que manifestó ser estibador portuario que, por periodos cobra 2500 pesos– aseguró que "alquilaba pero no dio para más, y la única solución que nos ofrecieron es darnos un subsidio de 700 pesos, que no nos sirve para nada".

Ontivero recla[illegible] "un techo para nuestros hijos", y aseguró no irse del camping "hasta que nos den una respuesta favorable a nuestro pedido".

Por su parte, Malvina Oligado de 28 años expresó que "soy nacida en Ushuaia, mis dos hijos también y me no tuve otra opción que venir a acampar aquí, porque el dinero no me alcanza para pagar el costo un alquiler porque soy madre soltera" dijo la joven que se desempeña como agente en el área de Obras Públicas de Gobierno. "Nos piden que nos vayamos pero ninguna de estas familias tiene un lugar a donde ir", anotó.

"Por más que haya gente que no les guste, acá el Estado les da soluciones a muchos extranjeros y nosotros que somos fueguinos, que siempre nos dejan esperando a pesar de tener un puntaje altísimo, en el registro de demanda habitacional y en el IPV", repudió la mujer.

Del mismo modo, otro de los jóvenes fueguinos involucrados en el reclamo es Leonardo Cieires, quien aseguró que "estoy inscripto en el registro de demanda habitacional, en tierras, pero [illegible]

01/12/2012

**Figure 6.8** A picture in the local newspaper shows homeless campers emphasising their regional origins (Photograph: A. Herbert).

The article quotes one of the women portrayed as saying, "I was born in Ushuaia, my two children as well, and I did not have another option but to come here and camp because the money isn't enough for me to rent because I am a single mother." In an attempt to refute accusations of being recently arrived migrants that had been circulating in the local press, the campground families painted banners that read "We are Fueguinos" (Somos Fueguinos) and installed them at the entrance of the campground. These attempts at invoking a shared sense of geographical belonging emphasise existing social dynamics that ostracize based on origin and socio-economic status.

## Defining a 'good' migrant

Depending on whose perspective one takes, there are differing perceptions of what constitutes a good (i.e. desired) migrant. These perceptions are indicative of wider neoliberal assumptions about good citizenship, i.e. tax-paying citizens, independent from a state-supported social

security and welfare net, who labour in order not to be homeless. The Other does not fit this profile. Native Fueguinos, the group most opposed to migrants (van Aert 2010:233), often contrast their own or their relatives' personal experiences of austerity and struggle in Ushuaia's beginnings with the perceived lifestyle ease and greed of contemporary migrants. A point of pride for the original families (pobladores antiguos) is the self-reliance and tenacity demonstrated by the first settlers who experienced little support from government and stayed through periods of increased physical and economic hardship. The repudiation of migrants that elderly native Fueguinos express mixes with a nostalgia for the past. In one conversation, Amalia, an 81 year old woman who identified as NyC, mentioned how winters used to be more extreme when she was younger:

> "That was a winter, not like now when everybody complains. Why did they [migrants] come here [and complain]? [Back then] there was just one car in town, everyone else walked. Today, it's a cause for complain when the car doesn't enter the supermarket. Everybody complains – the people who come. When somebody doesn't shovel snow for them, they complain. Get a shovel and do it [yourself]! I am 81 and I shovelled until last year."

Her stance is reminiscent of the description of the national imagery of the ideal Patagonian settler (see Chapter 3), "rough and strong people, tenacious and enterprising, in constant battle with the adversity of the elements" (Ygobone 1945:14). This was used in the geopolitically driven process of incorporating Patagonia into the Argentine nation. In the perception of many established residents that I spoke to, VyQ did not fit this description. A negative contrasting of NyC and established residents against the new migrants serves two purposes: First, it expresses an affirmation of self-identity, made stronger through a decisive differentiation from the Other. This process validates the adversities the first settlers and their progeny had to face. Second, it mirrors the socio-political discourse that understands Ushuaia as a maintained community, reliant on subsidies from the national government, and sees informal settlers as the ruthless beneficiaries of this.

During my fieldwork, I was often faced with a general rejection by established residents of "even more migrants", a classification which indiscriminatorily described informal settlers. These settlers were frequently classified as undesired migrants. From my interviews with city dwellers in paid employment, it became clear that these city dwellers often define a 'good immigrant' (inmigrante deseado), i.e. a desired newcomer, as someone who equally strives to work in paid employment with tax contributions to the community, putting in a similar effort as the existing workers without threatening their jobs or their overall livelihoods. According to this

perspective, a good migrant feels connected to the place and is willing to economically contribute to its overall long-term prosperity. This perspective coincides with the native Fueguino's perspective as it stipulates a hard-working migrant who is self-reliant, but not poor[99] as poverty means an increased dependence on the welfare system and a threatening competition for the existing natural and economic resources.

The perspective of governmental authorities on what a desired migrant is mirrors Ushuaia's evolution from a region in need of increased population to a city overwhelmed by growth.[100] At the beginning of Ushuaia's rapid rise, the town featured a tightly-knit community with established local elites. In a time of increased political diversity and more complex election processes, a desired migrant is one who does not threaten the ruling authority by either engaging in oppositional parties or endangering plans for the economic development of the city. For example, informal settlers (often classified as undesirable migrants per se by established residents) who form neighbourhood associations are often accused by these established residents of belonging to a political party (see Figure 6.9) and attempting to push political agendas by organising their settlement.[101] As the planned development of the city hinges on the strengthening and amplification of tourism, any competing claims to the resources that form the basis for this meet disapproval.

[99] On the other hand, the display of materialistic wealth just as easily counts against settlers, and the existence of four wheel drives and TV antennae in informal settlements was used by town dwellers to imply an abuse of resources by the settlers (also see Valdez et al. 2010:107).

[100] I base this statement on my interactions and interviews with government employees – a few of them in highly-waged, leading positions – in which these opinions were either directly expressed or transpired in the course of the conversation. For example, in an interview with Rodrigo, a political figure close to the top rungs of the provincial political hierarchy, he stated that "desired immigration stopped in the 1980s", referring to the long-term migratory consequences of Provincial Law 19.640 (introduced in 1972) that saw Tierra del Fuego's population rise inexponentially over only a few decades (cf. Chapter 1).

[101] Based on interviews with Jaime (19/03/2012), Rodrigo (30/03/2012) and Nicolás (11/04/2012).

Página 18 • Ushuaia, lunes 12 de marzo de 2012 • el diario del Fin del Mundo

PARTIDO SOCIAL PATAGÓNICO

Juventud

La juventud del Partido Social Patagónico (PSP) repudia enérgicamente los dichos de la Secretaria del Municipio de Ushuaia, Adriana Chapperón al denunciar casi una liberación de zona en el barrio Las Raíces 4, durante el proceso de desarme realizado por la Municipalidad, asociando para ello la presencia de afiliados al PSP en el lugar.

Nuestros militantes viven en distintos barrios, tienen diferentes oficios y profesiones, y a nadie se le pide título dominial para obtener su afiliación. Chapperón sabe que entre los vecinos de Las Raíces hay afiliados a varios partidos y que este asentamiento existe inclusive antes de la creación de nuestro partido.

Tenemos posición tomada respecto del derecho a la vivienda y a la tierra, pero siempre lo hicimos y lo haremos a través de los canales institucionales correspondientes. Es este mismo hecho, también, el que nos impulsa a rechazar cualquier acto de violencia, cualquiera sea su naturaleza.

Contra la violencia, la juventud del PSP defenderá siempre el diálogo, la solidaridad y la resolución concreta de los problemas asociados a la ocupación del hábitat urbano y la regularización del uso de la tierra.

www.socialpatagonico.com.ar - Alem 2441 - CP 9410 - Ushuaia - Tierra del Fuego, Antártida e Islas del Atlántico Sur

**Figure 6.9** A whole-page announcement by the Social Party in one of Ushuaia's local newspapers (El diario del Fin del Mundo 12/03/2012:18)[102] following a violent altercation between the municipality and members of an informal settlement. The party protests the accusation of being involved in the unrest in the settlement.

As a result of these unmet demands on migrants, informal settlers are ostracised from mainstream community. For example, settlers often feel unfairly portrayed by society and censored by the media. In one instance, a newspaper published information given out by the municipality, containing the names of informal settlers and private financial information (Valdez

[102] In the announcement (from the second paragraph), the Social Party states that "[o]ur militants live in different barrios, have different jobs and professions, and nobody is asked for their land title [título dominial] to become affiliated [with the Party]. Chapperón [the Secretary of the Municipality who had made the accusations] knows that among the neighbours of Las Raíces, there are people affiliated with various parties and that this settlement [Las Raíces] has existed even before the creation of our party. We have a firm position regarding the right to housing and land, but we have always and will always go through the corresponding institutional channels. It is because of this that we reject any act of violence of whatever nature. Against violence, the youth of the PSP [Patagonian Social Party] will always defend the dialogue, solidarity, and concrete solutions to the problems associated with the occupation of human urban habitat and the regularisation of land use" (translation mine).

et al. 2010:105f), which some settlers feared might lead to professional or personal consequences for them. Shaming and humiliation techniques such as these are powerful tools for maintaining inequality and social hierarchy (Lister 2004:119), and can re-enforce the prejudices against those already ostracised. This holds true for the relationship between the police and the informal settlers, too. Vicente, a social worker, reproached the police for holding a bias against the settlers, and several informal settlers reported to me that they often felt disrespected or discriminated against in dealings with official municipal or jurisdictional entities.

The consequences of these ostracising processes have profound repercussions on the settlers. In their attempts to defend themselves against society's accusations, informal settlers have internalised the city dwellers' underlying definitions of what constitutes respectability. I witnessed several instances in which informal settlers strived to present themselves according to these underlying valuations. For example, when asked on a radio show "what kind of person" lived in his legalized barrio, the president of a neighbourhood association mentioned lawyers, doctors, and businessmen.[103] Likewise, when talking about her informal settlement, a settler emphasised that there were 'useful' people living in it who contributed to society, and listed teachers, tradesmen, and taxi drivers. At the same time, the ascribed definition of being different (cf. Guber 1984) is appropriated by some settlers, who emphasise their desire to set themselves apart from the society that negates them entry. In an attempt to define the characteristics of informal settlers, a settler stated that "we are not as individualistic as those from down there [in the city]. We have to get out of our bubble."

The various perspectives share an adhesion to Ushuaia's social imaginary that is influenced and shaped by national and local politics. The social fragmentation of Ushuaian society is worsened by the threat that the new population influx poses for the established positions of local elites and foreign investors (see Hernández 2010:227). In the heterogeneity of Ushuaian society, newcomers struggle to integrate themselves into mainstream society (van Aert 2010:235). In some cases, informal settlements form entities cohesive enough to strengthen the marginal identities of its inhabitants and offer support against the rejection of the mainstream society. In the following, I present such an example.

[103] 22/12/2011, Radio Nacional in Ushuaia.

## Case study: Las Raíces, a settlement to rule them all?

> "I'm telling you that I'm not the only one, there's thousands more/ Making a homeland, living the homeland/... Without light, without gas, without privacy/ Without light, without gas, but with lots of identity/ ... With lots of motivation to advance/ I'm not just passing through, I'm not just passing through"
>
> (Part of a song by an informal settler, 40)[104]

The housing shortage is a perennial topic of conversation in Ushuaia. On one occasion, I struck up a conversation with a woman at a bus stop, who cautiously admitted to living above El Ecológico, the last legal barrio above the city to the west. Her reluctance to confess to squatting was revealing to me as an ethnographer, as it spoke of the social implications and perceptions connected to it. I later realized just how much this settlement diverged from city dwellers' typical depictions. Rather than the dangerous, haphazard, and inadequate dwelling space of the urban imaginary, this was a socially and spatially organised settlement, a nascent culture of its own. Las Raíces (translation: the Roots) is a barrio that was founded around 1995 and is subdivided in four sectors. Catalina and her husband Pablo live in the newest sector, Sector IV, which is a community of about twenty-five families living in houses of differing quality, size, and material. In contrast to other barrios, the houses in Las Raíces are widely dispersed and include "gardens" and open spaces. Most noticeably, neighbours belong to an association founded by Catalina and Pablo around 2008. The association follows socio-political goals: It was founded with the intention of supporting neighbours by building solidarity, and strengthening the barrio against the municipality (cf. Van Gelder 2010:250).

[104] This is part of an untitled song performed by an informal settler, Pablo, who played a few songs for me on his guitar in their dwelling while we were waiting for his partner to finish a household task. The line "I'm not just passing through", which was repeated several times throughout the song, is of special importance considering that the (assumed) short or mid-term stay is one of the arguments often used by established residents and NyC in debates against informal settlements and VyQ. The argument states that the deforestation and the (assumed) soiling of glacier water (because of the lack of sewage systems in the informal settlements) are made even more appalling and reprehensible because of the settlers' short commitment to the city.


**Figure 6.10** A woman keeps an overview of the informal community she lives in with the help of a self-made map (Photograph: A. Herbert).

The couple organizes community events such as fire drills, health and sanitary workshops, clothing swap meetings, and aid distribution. They moved to Ushuaia in 2007 with the intention of making a better living for themselves than in their native Neuquén, a north-western province they failed to find employment in. Catalina and Pablo moved into the sector after having had difficulties finding employment that paid enough for them to rent in the city. After several years working as voluntary community organizers, they perceive their efforts to have started paying off as community solidarity is starting to show. These days, the organization is able to function without their continuous input, but Catalina warned newcomers against being "hypnotised" by "the magical city" and pointed out the strenuous process involved to improve living conditions in the settlement. Crucial for this is the social safety net people have built over time, which has neighbours helping each other out with food or household items if one of them runs out. This is even more important considering the social fragmentation of Ushuaia, caused by its immigration background and resulting in increased difficulties of forming social ties (van Aert 2010). Settlements that use a collective structure to organize themselves can contribute to a more cohesive group identity. Unlike renting a room in the city, where anonymity, perceived disinterest, or stigma prevents people from asking others for help, solidarity and the creation of community help improve settlers' lives.

What, in the case of Catalina and Pablo, started out as necessity-driven squatting soon became a lifestyle. Catalina has embraced her unofficial role as a community organiser, keeping track of developments in the settlement and communicating frequently with neighbours (see Figure 6.10). People I spoke to in the settlement are proud to be living an alternative lifestyle in the mountains and state that the solidarity among the neighbours balances the sacrifices and the taxing winter. Ironically, Las Raíces not only contradicts prevailing representations of the antisocial, disorganised settlements, but also embodies the community values that city dwellers fear urban growth and economic development are eroding. Sector IV of Las Raíces harbours a community that looks after each of its members and that evolves around solidarity and inclusion. However, settlers are aware that growing numbers of newcomers needing a place to live might endanger their current lifestyle which is based on open spaces, close interactions with the neighbours, and tranquillity. Still, according to Pablo they do not try to deny that growth will happen and profess their willingness to be inclusive also toward foreigners. This attitude distinguishes Sector IV from other sectors of the settlement that confine themselves against newcomers. The latter attitude, the blending out of impeding changes – the continuous arrival of more migrants to the city and the growing need for more accommodation and the declaration of being a "completed group" – resembles the attitude that city dwellers display. Pablo's concern is in regard to the kind of development that would be imposed upon their sector if the settlers had no voice in urban planning decisions. Anxious to upkeep an alternative, nature- and community-oriented approach to living in the mountains, Pablo expressed his desire for the bureaucratic gaze to confer legality upon the settlement while respecting settlers' lifestyle preferences.

However, the relationship between the municipality and the settlers was charged during my fieldwork. In early 2012, a community centre was built in Las Raíces, with funds collected from inhabitants of Sector IV. On February 23, a municipality-ordered security team in the presence of police ripped down part of the centre's walls and bent part of the structure out of shape (see Figure 6.11). This caused a violent altercation between the security team and some settlers who were protesting against this measure and attempted to interfere with the destruction of the centre, resulting in a settler being injured. Catalina complained that the government fails to recognize settlers' agency in organizing themselves and living independently. She emphasised that settlers' efforts resulted in their independence from state benefits – a feat that, in a city that survived on subsidies, weighed substantially. As a representative of the settlement, Catalina was charged for building without municipal consent, and was legally

prosecuted. She was sentenced to community work – an irony that did not escape her, as she had been doing community-minded work for six years at that time.[105] Catalina confessed to not understanding why the government did not deem the settlers' mindset as worthy of support and instead took action against them. The emphasis on being autonomous of state benefits, only wanting to "pay for what's ours" (the land on which the settlers' houses stand), serves as a moral justification of the occupation. The settlers feel that their claims are bolstered by a governmental decision in the 1990s that arose out of a growing occupation of land around Buenos Aires. The government admitted that the social housing strategies employed to confront the increasing need for accommodation were ineffective, introducing a policy that allowed property rights to squatters (Van Gelder 2010:248).

**Figure 6.11** The damaged community centre a month after it was attacked by a security team hired by the municipality (Photograph: A. Herbert).

While little progress was made on this in the metropolitan area, settlers in Ushuaia attempt to help themselves. Pablo explained that the organised way in which Las Raíces

[105] The settlers used the altercation around the community centre to their advantage in another way: While municipality and the security teams employed by municipality were distracted by the conflict, settlers were able to smuggle in the building materials necessary to set up seven additional huts on previously unclaimed land in the vicinity of the settlement.

distributed land for newcomers, then helped them settle and adjust, was more sustainable and responsive to the prevailing reality of increasing migration than any efforts the government was making. If not for careful orientation, environmental training[106], and the embedding of newcomers into the settlement's social networks, new settlers would "cut down trees and would not care" (Pablo, pers. comm. 2012). There are indeed environmental challenges and health concerns emanating from the settlements as less organised settlements lack sewage systems and appropriate education about environmentally sustainable waste water strategies. For example, city dwellers who live downstream from some settlements report the waters coming down as dirty and garbage-strewn.[107] In contrast to city dwellers' common perceptions about settlers, the settlers in Las Raíces put an emphasis on building and living in as environmentally unobtrusive a way as possible.[108] This mindset of protecting the environment and thinking long term distinguishes Sector IV from other settlements. When new arrivals were setting up house, only clearings of the forest are used so that as few trees as possible have to be felled. Turf is avoided in order to sidestep problems with ice and land slides in winter. Houses are constructed away from the course of running water coming from other houses and not too close to the pathways and streets. Settlers are "trying to respect the sewage issue", Catalina said, by using long drops or composting toilets.[109]

---

[106] This training includes, for example, workshops to build composting or dry toilets, identification of building sites with the least amount of trees to be felled (usually clearings), and fire safety.

[107] This is likely to be true, although it is unclear to what extent this happens and whether it is only informal settlers that cause this. I have not been able to find official reports on the soiling of glacier or other waters and resources, but have happened upon this accusation numerous times. Other (established) residents also reported informal settlers "defecating into their [established] neighbours' backyards" (Amalia, pers. comm. 2012). While I could not verify these accounts, the lack of sewage systems in the informal settlements makes it at least possible for them to be true.

[108] According to Pablo, this includes, for example, setting up new dwellings only in clearings or in places where as few trees as possible have to be cut down; using recycled materials for the dwellings; minimising the risk of fire (which would damage the natural environment) by organising and participating in fire awareness and response workshops; car-pooling; and making and marking pathways to minimise foot-traffic damage to the natural environment.

[109] A long drop is a dry toilet system that collects human excrement in septic tanks (often nothing more than a simple hole in the ground) and relies on natural decomposition through bacteria. A composting toilet is an arguably more advanced and environmentally friendly system that combines the waste with a composting agent such as (untreated) sawdust, leaves, moss etc. to control odour and minimise composting time. Similar to the long drop, the composting toilet also relies on aerobic processing.

The informal settlers I spoke to at Las Raíces feel that instead of being ostracized and persecuted by the municipality, it would be more beneficial for all parties – the government, city dwellers, and settlers – if they were integrated into the government's approach to handling the issue. After securing accommodation that responded to their needs, the primary concern of the Association of informal settlers at Las Raíces was for the settlement to be part of an environmentally and socially responsible approach to urban development. This approach would conserve the natural beauty of Ushuaia in such a way that the city would retain its touristic appeal – a goal that city dwellers and the municipality alike embrace.

## Informal settlements and tourism

Tourism, one of the most dynamic sectors of Ushuaia's developing economy, serves as a pull factor for some migrants. The extensive and ongoing construction of hotels attracts tradespeople, who subsequently need to settle in the city (Turin De La Llosa 2010:92). While tourism pulls migrants to Ushuaia in this way, it also forces them into informal housing situations. The unavailability of affordable rent for working-class migrants in Ushuaia is linked to the city's touristic image. This image is a façade, hiding what a research participant in a government position called the real Ushuaia, in order for tourists to have a pleasant, undisturbed impression of the city. The focus on foreign spending resulting from tourism contributes to a situation that discriminates and excludes parts of the population, who are then forced to occupy land.

The municipality and tourism board of Ushuaia as well as the hospitality, commercial and gastronomic sectors have an interest in keeping touristic attention away from the shanty houses. The poverty and unruly aesthetics the informal settlements embody contradict their vision for the city's future (also see Dovey and King 2012:290f; cf. Ha 2004; Tindigarukayo 2002), which is closely linked with touristic development. In 2012, Ushuaia was named the "city with the best quality of life" by a Brazilian organization[110], a title that further stimulates the important link with the Brazilian tourism market. However, the extreme visibility of El Escondido, which is

[110] The association's name is ABIQUA (Brazilian Association for Quality Incentive, translation mine) (El Diario del Fin del Mundo 2011j).

located in the deforested hills above Ushuaia and can be seen from the bay, impedes these efforts.

In accordance with the discussion in Chapter 5 on the different levels of social capital[111] that can be found among the fractured Ushuaian society, this concept helps to understand informal settlements within the wider societal environment they are a part of. When situated within the developing city, informal settlements can be understood as places with a lack of symbolic and economic capital. While undoubtedly, the overall economic capital[112] of the informal settlements is low, the levels of cultural capital (i.e. the skills, institutionalised education, and knowledge that provide a widely recognised elevated status in a society) and the social capital not in the whole of the Ushuaian society but within the settlement or settlements are, arguably, sometimes comparatively higher than those of the wider Ushuaian community. This certainly only refers to the better-organised settlements that I visited, in which neighbourhood connections, neighbourhood mobilisation[113] and a general sense of community cohesion and solidarity create social capital at least for interactions amongst members of the settlement. Symbolic capital, or the resources available to members of society as a result of wide recognition and prestige (Bourdieu 1991:72ff) is decidedly less pronounced. Indeed, the difference to the wider community is palpable: The city-dwelling middle classes consider the informal settlements places to avoid, as they become "the 'other' of the formal city and hence essential to its identity" (Dovey and King 2012:290). The settlers are seen as both separate from other inhabitants of Ushuaia and as incongruent with the official vision the urban planning and tourism departments of the government have for the city. An architect employed by the Ushuaian government told me that the municipality invested much effort into transforming the city's aesthetic image by undertaking "cosmetic" projects such as paving streets, improving public spaces, and restoring or renovating residents' houses. He presented the unfinished,

[111] Social capital is "made up of social obligations ('connections'), [and] is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility" (Bourdieu 1986:16).

[112] Following Bourdieu, economic capital is here understood as capital that is "immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights" (1986:16).

[113] For example, First Aid and fire fighting workshops, organised collective visits to city-dwelling nurses, and regular meetings to discuss settlement processes and events.

precarious structures that make up the settlements to be indicative of a transitory nature of their inhabitants and a lack of commitment to city issues.

Paradoxically, while informal settlements are being regarded as hazardous to tourists' impressions of the city, they are already a part of tourism, used for touristic purposes. Realizing that some tourists are interested in experiencing counter-cultural social realities, a local tourism company included the settlements in their City Tours. This company, targeting mostly cruise ship tourists, makes several stops at strategic viewpoints to point out Ushuaia's most notorious informal settlement, El Escondido. As visitors pass through the settlements, they are informed about the historical and socio-political background of the phenomenon.

This touristic entrepreneurship is reminiscent of slum[114] tourism, a niche product that has received increased academic attention in recent decades but which is by no means a new phenomenon. Going back to 19th century Victorian England, slum tourism has entailed wealthy citizens gazing at the poor for centuries (Koven 2006). Nowadays a trend occurring in the global south, the commodification of marginalized urban spaces ascribes value to poverty, transforming it into touristic capital (Baptista 2012:132f; Duerr and Jaffe 2012:118). Slum tourism operates on the principle of difference. Like tourism in general, which "results from a basic binary division between the ordinary/everyday and the extraordinary" (Urry 2001 [1990]:11), slum tourism entails a form of Othering (Dyson 2012:256). Already in the beginnings of slum tourism, the bourgeois constructed poor urban areas as areas containing 'the Other' (Steinbrink 2012:218; cf. Lister 2004). This process holds true today, where slums or informal settlements are perceived and constructed as dark, poor, filthy, different places.

Similarly to the discussion about the different forms of capital above, informal settlements are also linked with another form of capital. Images of settlements can embody negative political capital (Dovey and King 2012:291) because they reflect badly on leadership, inclusionary politics, and social protection systems of the governments. In some instances, slum

[114] The definition by UN Habitat (2003) ascribes four aspects to a slum, all of which are present in Ushuaia's informal settlements: (1) Inadequate access to safe water, (2) Inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructures, (3) Poor structural quality of housing, (4) Over-crowding and insecure residential status.

tourism can counteract this by turning the slum into part of the brand[115], as seen in Brazil. The immense interest in Brazilian favelas has led to their incorporation into Río de Janeiro's brand image. While touristic interaction with informal settlements in Ushuaia, at least at this point, is at best a marginal phenomenon, future touristic and urban developments could see an increase in its importance. In the case of Brazil, the inclusion of informal settlements into the city brand counteracts the 'homogenizing developments' of urban planning, i.e. the gradual replacement of unique Patagonian architecture with modern buildings, that are being criticised in Ushuaia as well (see Chapter 4):

> "The place branding schemes of many developing cities – importing Western models of waterfront development and dressing up local places according to global formulae – can ironically render them placeless from a global viewpoint." (Dovey and King 2012:291)

By being Other, informal settlements contribute to the versatile image of a city as they lend it more 'authenticity' and distinguish it from other cities. Slums are understood as alternative places (Baptista 2012:132) worth visiting. The quest for authenticity that drives tourists to look behind the destination's front stage (following Goffman 1969[1959]) is fuelled and confirmed by the display of deprivation in the settlements (Duerr and Jaffe 2012:115), as deprivation rather than polished wealth and an artificial image is perceived as an indicator for authentic 'reality'.

Operating on a constructivist paradigm, as this thesis does, that posits that there are multiple realities, the question remains whose reality counts (see Chambers 1997). Oppositional interpretations mirror the city's internal division. Stakeholders such as the government, the tourism board, the hospitality sector and city dwellers perceive the informal settlers as invaders who alter the 'real' image of Ushuaia. The settlers' understanding of reality maintains that the 'fake', staged, positive image the municipality and tourism board want to convey of Ushuaia is opposed by the 'real' one of struggle and poverty in settlements. They insist on being included in the socio-political, cultural, and touristic imaginary of the city. Inhabitants of Sector IV at Las Raíces are aspiring to get involved in the depiction of settlements by creating a "Museum of Resistance" (span. Museo de la Resistencia) featuring an exhibition about informal settlements.

[115] Unlike marketing, branding is understood here as a campaign that has as its goal the increase of economic developments, community development, and local identity (Hernandez-Garcia 2013:45).

This aims at informing tourists about the social reality behind the first, polished impressions of Ushuaia. Catalina expressed her desire for the settlements to become a part of tourism,

> "not to show the bad sides of Ushuaia but rather to show that there is a struggle in Ushuaia, that it is not all rose-coloured, and everybody come to Ushuaia!, no – there's a struggle that has been here for years in all of the barrios."

While the situation in Ushuaia's settlements is still far removed from a co-operative and participatory approach where government and affiliated institutions are concerned, there are instances in other areas of the world where the public sector is entering the field of slum tourism as a stakeholder (Frenzel and Koens 2012:208). Starting in the early 2000s, the Colombian city of Medellín underwent a transformation from 'murder capital' into one of the most popular touristic destinations of the country. In the course of this socio-political makeover, Medellín's settlements, formerly sites of unrest and violence, underwent a similar transformation. As a consequence, tourists nowadays visit the settlements to explore the results of the transformations, a process that Hernandez-Garcia (2013) calls 'social urbanism'. Informal settlements can positively contribute to the branding of a city by being recognised as differentiated places with strong identities ('authentic'), strong cultural expressions ('creative') and varied architecture (Hernandez-Garcia 2013:45). Governments promote their city's slums for tourism not because of the displayed poverty, but because of the settlements' uniqueness which is attractive to tourism. Local elites embrace slum tourism after the discourse changes from one that depicts slums as detrimental to the city's branding, to one that sees the slums' potential to enhance it (Frenzel 2012:62).

The danger of slum tourism lies in the de-politicisation of the problems that constitute informal settlements in the first place. By conveying to the slum tourist an image that is 'too positive' – the poor are 'Others', but they are good (Frenzel 2012:59) – visitors are prone to regard informal settlements not as places of social and economic inequalities, but as expressions of cultural idiosyncrasies (Steinbrink in Duerr 2013; also see Meschkank 2011:60). This takes away from the perceived need for structural changes necessary to alleviate settlers' poverty.

Tourism and tourists' expectations and readings of the place visited have the power to modify local identities. They influence how destinations are created, performed and shaped by tourists and hosts (Duerr and Jaffe 2012:119). If the housing problem persists and the informal settlements remain excluded from public services and precarious places outside the mainstream system, slum tourism could become a more established occurrence in Ushuaia. Over time, this

might lead to a new direction public discourse takes when addressing the settlements, which in turn could result in an inclusionary vision for informal settlements in both tourism and city branding.

## Informal settlements and gated communities: Socio-spatial Othering

In summary of previous sections of this chapter, it is worthwhile to note that in a tourist economy like Ushuaia's, space holds (economic) value. Informal settlements are prime examples of the way that Othering is linked in with spatial orderings. Similar to urbanisation processes around the world, it is not only those residents in economic need that find themselves at the edge of the city. Space that is valuable from both a touristic and a lifestyle perspective is competed for on the other end of the local economic scale, too. Like the informal settlements, the land use of the privileged is cause for disagreement among Ushuaian residents. In 2007, a public debate erupted that revolved around the development of a local gated community (barrio cerrado). The Barrio Cauquén, seven kilometres outside of the city centre at the coast of the Beagle Channel, is contested among residents as it restricts access to the coastline for the public through a barrier and a guard house. When the municipality ordered for the barrier to be taken down in 2008, the barrio authority argued that it had received permission from the municipality in 2006 to erect it. Subsequent inquiries confirmed that Ushuaia's mayor had declared Cauquén a gated community (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2008). The Undersecretary of the municipality, Abel Sberna, voiced his opinion that by allowing a gated community,

> "[w]e would be putting conditions on the free access to the coast. Further, if we consider Ushuaia as a city with touristic potential that aims to be a genuinely touristic city, forbidding access to those sectors that are most attractive for tourists goes against what it means to be a touristic city." (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2007a, translation mine)

The way in which Cauquén was originally approved – without public consultation and overriding the Plan for Coastal Management – caused discontentment among the public (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2011h). Guillermo Worman, founder of Participación Ciudadana, a local initiative aimed at strengthening citizens' influence in local politics, pointed out that restricted access to public places would

> "create citizens who can access a public space without restrictions, and sub-citizens who have to justify themselves before a private security officer." (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2011h)

Similarly, in an online discussion following a newspaper article that discussed the political developments on the gated community's permit, user comments alluded to the power divide in the community and accused politics of supporting the already powerful at the expense of the less powerful community members (Crónicas Fueguinas 14/09/2010). This prompted Liliana Fadul, a local politician and member of a long-standing local family, to call for a "fundamental change in the city (…), an Ushuaia for everybody" (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2011i). In her appeal, she criticised the spending of tax payers' money on building rain gutters for the gated community, using funds that could have been used for improving public sites. Commenting on another online newspaper article on the gated community, online-users pointed out that a private barrio needs to fund all services privately, including road-paving and waste management (Crónicas Fueguinas 11/04/2008), expenses that should not be carried by all of the community who did not benefit from the closed-off communities.


**Figure 6.12** Real estate advertisement in Ushuaian newspaper for an apartment building with "privileged view of the Beagle Channel and the mountains". A selling point is that the complex is "the only one in the zone with amenities" (Prensa, 29/12/2011:5).

Recent advertisements for apartment complexes show that valued assets include both views and amenities (Figure 6.12). As Ushuaia grows vertically, with higher constructions obscuring the view of the channel for other buildings, a panoramic view becomes both more valuable and less achievable for those residents who cannot afford to or do not want to buy into one of the new high-rise constructions. More essential amenities such as water, sewerage, and electricity become important in zones that are less developed. Parallels to the informal settlements emerged in a public discussion about privileged living space that started in 2008, with commentators who supported the gated community pointing out that it differed little from informal settlements.[116] Gentrification, in its processual character, is commonly defined as the "renewal and rebuilding accompanying the influx of middle-class or affluent people into deteriorating areas that often displaces poorer residents" (Merriam-Webster 2014). As shown in previous sections of this thesis, gentrification in Ushuaia manifests differently than described in the above definition.[117] In Ushuaia, it is the influx of poorer residents, unbalanced income- and power structures, and the tourism-focused urban development of the city that create inequality which is also expressed in the city's socio-spatial organisation. As "a process of spatial and social differentiation" (Zukin 1987:131), gentrification envelopes both extremes of the local economic spectrum. As seen in the examples of Ushuaia's gated community and the informal settlements or slums, it is both the very wealthy and the very marginalised who gravitate towards the edges of the city. While the former social group has a choice in location and type of dwelling, the access of the latter, in most cases, is restricted both in location and type of housing. This underlines the fact that Ushuaia's gentrification processes, too, are an expression and manifestation of socio-economic injustice.

The prevalent income disparity in the community, worsened by the influx of impoverished migrants from other provinces or neighbouring countries, manifests itself in a re-organisation of socio-cultural space in the city. Whereas origin (Fueguino or Other; NyC or VyQ)

---

[116] For example, comments included the statement that "[i]ntruded barrios are worse" and the remark that "[i]t would be even more useful if the ghettos in the forest were closed first, they're doing what they want" (Crónicas Fueguinas 11/04/2008).

[117] In light of the concern of some residents about the damage that urban development can cause to Ushuaia's value as a tourist destination, it is noteworthy that gentrification in Ushuaia does not (yet) involve the restoration of heritage buildings as is the case for gentrification processes in other parts of the world (Zukin 1987; Zukin 1998:826), but rather concentrates on the availability of amenities in a city struggling to service its residents.

can create much social division in the community (see Chapter 3), it is also the built environment that adds to the division. Both elitist and precarious barrios exclude some and isolate other members of society, by wilful separation in the form of barriers and security guards, or by a level of austerity determined by lack of financial affluence. Ushuaia's urban landscape hosts both a gated community and shanty towns. Whereas members of the gated community attempt to flee overcrowded living space in the city centre by securing an exclusive, more secluded spot by the Beagle Channel, the informal settlements were created (mostly) through market pressure. Both the gated community with its modern architecture and the informal settlements in their squalor seemingly compromise the city's image of a quaint, picturesque city and a tranquil, homogeneous society. Additionally, both informal settlements and gated communities separate their inhabitants from the rest of the community and spur debates about the use of public space and the appraisal of collective and individual needs and desires. At the same time, Ushuaia's natural amenities are at stake, as informal settlements induce deforestation and bear the risks of causing landslides and polluting freshwater resources. Vertical urban development – the creation of high-rise buildings to meet the growing demand for accommodation – and the adoption of functional architecture threaten both the visual aesthetics and architectural coherence of the city and its appeal as a touristic destination. The existing gated community and hotel complexes grouped around the shore of the Beagle Channel restrict public access to the coastline and create elitist spaces that separate the wealthy and powerful from the rest of the community (cf. Tarlet 1993:43; Guano 2002:185).

## Conclusion

An urban planning vision that targets visitors and upper-middle class residents but ignores economically weak migrants has resulted in mounting social tensions among the inhabitants of Ushuaia city and the surrounding settlements. The underlying lack of suitable long-term urban planning and an inadequate political response to the situation that has been unfolding for years is largely ignored in everyday conversations about informal settlements. A social worker compared the situation in Ushuaia to a pressure cooker – "it exploded at all sides, and up there [in the forested area]." No affordable housing options are being offered or constructed, with the private construction sector aiming at economically higher-profile residents or tourists and the public sector apparently oblivious to the problem at hand. This approach endangers not only social inclusion and touristic attractiveness but also community cohesiveness and social values. With modern buildings slowly replacing old historic buildings, invariably changing the local

cityscape, residents have expressed their concern for the increasing loss of identity and 'soul'. This links in with a conspicuous consumerist lifestyle that only tourists and the wealthier residents can participate in. The image of a wealthy, posh tourist city, which is mostly endorsed by tourism and city planning officials, masks the existing social struggle and underlying poverty many migrants face. Fuelled by a changing public rhetoric, attitudes are hardening and Ushuaian society increasingly defined by Othering processes. City dwellers claim that informal settlements are a burden to the city's welfare and water supply system and point out the threat they pose to Ushuaia's environmental integrity. While these claims have some validity, a settlement community like Sector IV of Las Raíces defies these generalizations. While also in Las Raíces, there are houses and properties that were claimed and are used for lifestyle reasons or speculation, the present, unofficial, planned and controlled way of managing the barrio could hold valuable lessons for official urbanisation processes in the future.

This, then, begs the question of what is more damaging to the future development of tourism to Ushuaia. On the one hand there is a city that slowly loses its historic character as it grows into something economically, culturally, and socially removed from the reality of a significant proportion of its residents. On the other hand, there are settlements that encroach on natural beauty and show the downside to the affluent boom town at the end of the world. At the same time, the settlements have the potential to add social values and a certain marketable character to the city that could also appeal to tourists.

# 7 Residents and Antarctica

The positioning of Ushuaia as the world's most active Antarctic gateway port by provincial tourism authorities (Secretaría de Turismo de Ushuaia 2011a; InFueTur 2006) poses the question of whether (and if so, what social groups among) Ushuaian residents stand behind and identify with the object of this branding. The representation of Ushuaia as an Antarctic gateway city links people, heritage, and territory. As tourism authorities identify a lack of interest in Antarctica among certain groups of residents, I show Antarctica's connections to several factors such as the socio-cultural heritage, class, and socio-economic standing of residents, which in turn connects to questions of access to Antarctica among different social groups. I argue that access to Antarctica is highly restricted for most local residents, and the benefits from Antarctic tourism are highly debated in the city. In order to gather insights about an Antarctic identity in Ushuaia, this chapter looks at how my research participants perceive and relate to Antarctica and Antarctic tourism. How prominently does the white continent feature in the city's socio-cultural makeup? What factors shape and influence these perceptions?

**Table 7.1** Overview of principal research participants in Chapter 7

| | |
|---|---|
| **Academia** | Franco – sociologist in his 50s in Buenos Aires, at the time of our encounter preparing to travel to Antarctica for the first time to conduct social research<br>Felipa – lecturer in her late 40s, focus on Antarctica and cruise tourism<br>Humberto – freelance tourist guide and researcher at university, in his mid-30s |
| **Antarctic institutions/ Maritime agency** | Pilar – Director of the Antarctic Office, in her 40s, background in Tourism Administration<br>Segundo – Maritime agent, in his 30s |
| **Antarctic vessels: Crew** | Anita, Iván, Clementina, Vanina, Aracelia, Ricarda – Ushuaian residents aged in their mid-20s to early 30s who worked as waitresses or pastry chefs during one season on an Antarctic expedition vessel or cruise ship<br>Victor – retired sailor and Antarctic Zodiac driver in his 60s |
| **Antarctic vessels: Staff** | Brian – Canadian logistics manager working on Antarctic expedition vessel, in his mid-50s<br>Jorge – captain on an Antarctic expedition vessel<br>Johanna – Ushuaia-based expedition leader on an Antarctic vessel, in her late 40s<br>Olivia – Ushuaia-born teacher who works as lecturer on Antarctic expedition vessel, early 30s |
| **Government administration** | Guillermo – high-waged politician in the provincial government, in his 60s<br>Vicente – Director of Social Work department, Ushuaia, originally from Northern province, in his late 50s<br>Natalia – government employee at the port administration, in her 40s, originally from Mendoza |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Tourism business** | Domenico – co-owner of a central hostel, in his late 30s, from Buenos Aires<br>Félix – freelance tourist guide in his late 20s from Mendoza, works in Ushuaia seasonally<br>Mora – tourist guide in her early 30s from Patagonia, works freelance for catamaran companies<br>Alonso – waiter in central café and night receptionist at B&B, from Formosa and in his mid-20s |
| **Tourism institutions** | Daniel Leguizamón – Secretary of Tourism, in his 50s<br>Julio Lovece – former Secretary of Tourism, founder of an NGO concerned with tourism, culture and the environment, in his 60s |
| **Native Fueguinos** | Amalia – Ushuaia-born resident in her 80s, retired nurse<br>Mateo – Ushuaia-born resident in his 70s, retired postal worker |

## Residents' perceptions of Antarctica

To begin my exploration of the links between the provincial tourism authorities' ambition to strengthen Ushuaia as a gateway city and align residential support[118] and the residential population these efforts are aimed at, I look at how Antarctica is perceived amongst my research participants. An encounter I witnessed between a research participant and three of her friends is exemplary for the range of reactions Antarctica commonly sparked in the Ushuaian residents I interviewed. Aracelia, a woman in her late twenties who worked as a bartender, was fascinated with Antarctica. Half a year prior to our meeting, she had managed to join a commercial expedition ship for ten days by filling in for a pastry chef who had decided to disembark at the last minute. During a casual meeting with three acquaintances in their late twenties and early thirties, Aracelia mentioned that she had recently been to Antarctica. One of the women expressed her surprised disbelief ("What! You have been there?"), while another enquired enviously how she had secured a position ("You went to Antarctica? I want to kill myself![119] How did you do it? "). The third woman did not seem impressed or interested in the topic ("What´s so special about it? It´s just a whole lot of white").

Despite geographical positioning, touristic interest, and official promotional efforts, Antarctica seems removed from the lives and consciousness of many of those Ushuaian

[118] This will be further explored in Chapter 8.

[119] Obviously, this was a colloquially used expression that expressed the woman's enthusiasm for Antarctica, her strong desire to visit it herself, and her good-natured envy of the woman who had visited Antarctica already.

residents that I encountered. During my many short taxi trips around Ushuaia, I often chatted with the taxi drivers, habitually steering the topic towards Antarctica. The most common reaction I received was one of dismissal or disinterest. Comments went along the lines of "It's a big piece of ice, there is nothing there", "It is cold, even colder than here", and "It's always the same – all white, from time to time a penguin." Most of the taxi drivers I spoke to were not Ushuaian natives, having immigrated from other Argentine provinces up to two decades ago. However, reactions did not differ much from those of native Fueguinos. When I asked Mateo, a Fueguino in his 70s, about his perceptions about Antarctica[120], he dismissively said that it was "far away". He also said that on one occasion in 1989, he was invited to go to Antarctica by a councillor, but turned it down because he was not interested. Another native, Amalia, a woman in her 80s, took a similar position. When I tried to steer the conversation toward the topic of Antarctica, Amalia reacted like many people I interviewed during my fieldwork: with disinterest. She stated that she had never been to Antarctica, and that she was not tempted to visit it: "I wouldn't go even if I had a ticket." Instead, she took the conversation back to living conditions and current political issues in Ushuaia – a move that reflects a common tendency that I observed among residents: The struggle of day to day life and local developments occupies inhabitants to a degree that there is little thought capacity for something as far removed both ideologically and financially as Antarctica.

[120] I had been introduced to Mateo by another research participant as a researcher who is interested in learning more about life in town and its connections to Antarctica. During my visits with Mateo, we talked mostly about life in town, his personal history as a NyC in a changing, growing place, his interactions with tourists, and his opinion of local politics. Our encounters, during which we sat around the multi-purpose kitchen table in his rustic cottage and shared mate tea, had the character of a friendly conversation. I employed semi-structured interview techniques with mostly open-ended questions, which meant that Mateo did the bulk of the talking and dictated the pace and the length of his answers, often swerving into new or different topics at his own leisure. My impression was that the topics that we discussed mirrored the interests and events that determined his everyday life and held a personal importance he deemed greater than some of the questions I started out with. At the end of the first encounter, trying to bring up the topic of Antarctica which Mateo had, until that point, omitted, I asked: "And Antarctica? Tell me about that. What kind of connection do you have with it?" ("¿Y la Antártida? Cuentame de esto. ¿Qué tipo de conexión tiene Usted con ello?") In consecutive visits, except for a meeting that happened shortly after the Gaucho Rivero Act and in which Antarctica briefly featured as an aside, Mateo did not volunteer insights or opinions on Antarctica-related topics, and kept answers short and noncommittal when I directly mentioned Antarctica. In the course of my encounters with Mateo, I came to the conclusion that this was based on both a disinterest in (which in turn was based on a lack of identity with Antarctica) and a lack of knowledge of the topic.

Apart from employees working in fields directly related to Antarctica, the younger generation among my research participants, residents in their twenties and thirties, showed the most interest in Antarctica. This was usually connected with a desire to visit the white continent. Most of the reasons cited for wanting to go to Antarctica were focused on experiencing the continent's natural wonders, especially among those already working in tourism. Félix, a 25-year old tourist guide from Mendoza, admitted that Antarctica

> "calls to me a lot. I have thought about going there many times. It interests me for exploratory reasons… there's lots left to discover there. There are still some barriers out there [and Antarctica is one of them]."

For other people, a trip to Antarctica was less connected to its aesthetic or experiential potential and was more motivated by the financial remunerations that working on a ship entailed. Alonso, a man in his mid-twenties who worked a day job as a waiter in a busy central café and a night job in the same upscale bed & breakfast I worked at, often complained to me after a tiring day. As an economic migrant of less than a year of residence and struggling to find his foothold in what he perceived as a cold and expensive city, he felt that he was underpaid and treated poorly by his employer. Alonso playfully urged me to ask my research participants who worked on expedition vessels to give him a job:

> "Tell them we want employment. Leave this shit. I quit the café – they exploit me. I want to work on a ship."

Antarctica did not interest him beyond the well-paid escapist opportunity he saw in it. When I first asked Alonso, a social-minded and outgoing man, if he had any desire to go to Antarctica, he laughed and said that what he would want is to experience the social side of living on a cruise ship: "If somebody paid me to go to Antarctica, I'd go." An acquaintance of his had previously mentioned to him that he had worked on a cruise ship, and Alonso was left astounded at how much employees earn, "plus the tips you get." Another man, a Fueguino in his 40s who managed a car repair shop, similarly regarded Antarctica primarily as a potential source of income. He explained to me that working on a ship would pay him considerably less than what he earned in his current business, which was why he had no interest in going.

Of those who knew Antarctica from personal experience, negative impressions were scarce. While most of the accounts I was presented with referred to Antarctica in almost

reverent terms, in a couple of cases[121], perceptions were divergent. They presented a startling contrast to the more typical, positive accounts, and therefore emphasised the difference in attitude and perception of personal connection to Antarctica that I would usually encounter. This contrast is the reason why I briefly present them here. One of the research participants whose account of Antarctica was negative was Vicente, a social worker, who told me that he had been to the Antarctic in the summer of 1982. He emphasised that he thought it was "a very sad place". When I inquired what he meant by this, he said that "I don't know. There's so much ice and nobody there." The climate was very hostile and the temperatures very low. Possibly, Vicente mused, it had to with the immensity of the place, "you're like a tiny ant there, everything ice". A giant ice floe made him think "I am nothing here, I am nothing." He went to a military base and learned that personnel stayed for a limited amount of time and then came back 'crazy'. During his trip, which was a government-related mission to deliver supplies and pick up personnel, he went from base to base. In some bases,

> "we had fun, where the penguins were, like in the San Martín base. We went to play with the penguins[122], [but] we didn't manage to catch one. And then we went on the snowmobiles, that was fun. But after that... it's like, let's say, when you go from here to Río Grande. (...) In winter, everything is grey; snow, snow, snow, snow, ice, storms... it's insupportable, I don't know how they live there."

His negative impressions of Antarctica were influenced by both the season he went in (winter, when flora is less visible and light conditions do not invite the touristic gaze) and the destinations visited, as the Antarctic Peninsula was omitted for the bases located further south on the continent.[123] In summer, Vicente allowed, things were different as there were diverse days of sun, rain, light winds, and sun. His blatant lack of interest in Antarctica even after he had visited it was an exception to other research participants who had gone to Antarctica. Similar to

---

[121] Tadeo, a Peruvian man in his 30s who worked as a tour guide for a Chilean company that operated out of Punta Arenas, likewise reported feeling disappointed by his experiences in Antarctica. Having expected access to a wilder, more untouched part of Antarctica than the research base on King George Island his group went to, Tadeo was disillusioned and lacked the sense of wonder he had hoped for prior to his visit.

[122] Since the Protocol on Environmental Protection to the Antarctic Treaty in 1991, touching wildlife without a special permit for research purposes is forbidden. Typically, people must keep a distance of at least ten metres from wildlife (these distances vary dependent on the species) (Liggett, pers. comm. 2014).

[123] These are the Argentine Antarctic bases Belgrano II and the summer base Sobral. It is worth noting that Vicente did not go as a tourist, but was invited by a friend to accompany a military vessel as a civil visitor.

the accounts of foreign tourists, once an interest was awakened and a means of transportation found, a visit usually exceeded all expectations. Such was the case for Joaquín, a pastry chef living in Ushuaia, who had joined an expedition as a one-time stand-in for a pastry chef going off-board. Having agreed to go more for the financial aspect than out of a sense of curiosity, he was first surprised and then overwhelmed by his impressions. In my interview with him about a year after his trip, Joaquín told me that he was now more aware of and interested in Antarctic matters than before he went. His account represents a more typical reaction to a first-time Antarctic exposure than Vicente's, highlighting the importance of first-hand experience and direct exposure in the formation of an Antarctic consciousness and appreciation.

### Lack of Antarctic identity

How prominently does Antarctica feature in the self-perception of Ushuaian residents? Pilar, an employee at the Antarctic Office, suggested what other sources would later on indicate similarly – namely, a lack of awareness and understanding about Antarctica among substantial parts of the population in Ushuaia. Pilar believed that only those residents who were directly affiliated with Antarctic issues were aware of the importance of Ushuaia for Antarctic tourism. This assumption was confirmed in all of my interactions with the local population. Most of the residents I spoke to did not relate to Antarctica on a personal, interest-based level that involved aspirations to learn more about the continent or visit it. They did not perceive Antarctica as fascinating or worth exploring or protecting, contrary to those of my research participants who had experienced it or possessed greater knowledge of it. This was likely connected to the financial inaccessibility of a trip as well as a lack of access to first-hand accounts by tourists. It also links back to some of the discussions about place and place attachment presented in Chapter 3. Arguably, those residents who identify as NyC and those with a greater place attachment, i.e. long-term plans to stay in the province and a stronger sense of provincial identity, have a greater vested interest in provincial (and with that, Antarctic) matters and political decisions concerning one of the main provincial economic activities, Antarctic tourism, than those, often VyQ, whose place attachment and sense of place may be weaker.

With few exceptions, most of the rather scarce interest and informed opinions on Antarctica that I could find in Ushuaia came from university lecturers, hospitality workers with a direct link to tourists, and employees of governmental institutions dealing with Antarctic matters. Most perceptions tended to focus more on relating to the continent on a nationalist level than on a personal or internationalist level. This tendency reflects the emphasis the

Argentine educational system puts on teaching about Antarctica from a predominantly geopolitical perspective. Argentina is portrayed as consisting of the mainland, insular regions (Tierra del Fuego, South Atlantic islands, and Malvinas) and the Antarctic territory (Dodds 1997).

Those of my research participants who had an opinion on Antarctica – embodying a diverse cross-section of socio-economic and cultural factors – were conscious of the potential value the continent could hold on a global scale in the future. They portrayed Antarctica in terms of its resources and positioned Argentina, one of the five Antarctic gateway countries, in the centre of a potential conflict: Should the need or want for natural resources exceed the global political restraint on the exploitation of Antarctic resources, regulated to date by the Antarctic Treaty, Ushuaia would likely become of immense strategic importance.[124] Natalia, a government employee in her 40s, expressed her perception of Antarctica as follows:

> "Antarctica is the world´s biggest reserve of freshwater. People think it's a piece of ice in the south of the planet, but in reality, it's [incredibly rich] in flora and fauna. Why do the US, Argentina, Chile and New Zealand all have military bases there? (…) [It is about the existing] freshwater. It'll be the source of conflict if it isn't managed well politically."[125]

Another research participant, Daniel Leguizamón, considered Antarctica "the Northern hemisphere's future resource for uranium, metals, and hydrocarbons." He was convinced that as the global shortage of natural resources increases, Antarctica would eventually become a contested space, with nations fighting over access to it:

> "My personal opinion is that, looking at human behaviour, we never stopped, you see. We always put the planet at the human beings' service. And the day that we run out of petrol (…), I don't have a doubt about what they're going to do. I think the Antarctic Treaty is a type of umbrella for a while, which is holding us back until the resources run out in another place. When there's no other resource left, I don't have the slightest doubt that they're going to go for [Antarctica]."

---

[124] Compare this notion with the statement of Argentine ambassador Juan Carlos Beltramino, who maintained that Antarctic resources will be used by competing nation states if there is a global shortage in the future, "even though this seems like a bit of science fiction" (in Abruza 2006:274).

[125] It is worthwhile to point out that the content of the quote portrays the perception of my research participant and is used to showcase an opinion and a viewpoint that I have encountered among other residents as well. Her stance on freshwater being an important Antarctic resource that might influence future political agendas displays a utilitarian approach to the polar region. It should be noted that freshwater is not debated as a pressing matter in the current Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meetings (Liggett, pers. comm. 2014).

A prevalent notion held by many of my research participants was that the current use of Antarctica was already in preparation for this resource-exploitation centred scenario. Daniel explained that all of the Argentine chiefs of base in Antarctica were military personnel. The Argentine bases were founded in the 1950s with the intention of occupying the place with the three forces: the Army first and foremost, then the Navy, and finally the Airforce. The Airforce has its own Antarctic base, Marambio. Argentina's other main base, Jubany, is a base with a scientific purpose, but

> "the chief of base will always, always be military (un militar), and there'll be a captain, a major, a colonel, somebody with stars on their shoulders, who will say: 'I am the boss here', because logistics aren't civil, Argentine logistics are military. (...) The scientists have to adapt to that system." (Leguizamón, pers. comm. 2012)

This approach covertly defies the parameters of the Antarctic Treaty, which declares Antarctica "a natural reserve, devoted to peace and science" (Antarctic Treaty System 1959). While the Treaty de-militarised the Antarctic and established it as a nuclear-free zone, the ongoing involvement of the military for logistic and administrative operations indicate an underlying disposition that hints at surreptitious opposition. As Dodds notes, the Treaty did not simply turn the Antarctic into 'a continent of and for science' overnight (2011:234). The claimant states continue to perform sovereignty[126] vigilance (Dodds 2011), of which the militarised Antarctic bases of Argentina and other nations, arguably, are a part. An awareness and open critique of this situation[127] is expressed in a UK response in 2001 to Argentina's defence minister

[126] Sovereignty is here and throughout this thesis understood as the sole authority of rule over a territory. Notwithstanding the theoretical debate by political theorists such as Hannah Arendt (1963) and Lauren Berlant (2007) who discuss sovereignty in terms of political domination, violence, and justice, I employ the term in an ethnographic way, as my research participants used it. Used in such a manner, it helps to shed light on how my research participants locate themselves in the geographical region they inhabit. It shows how they develop a sense of place that is, in some instances, connected with Ushuaia's positioning in relation to Antarctica. The use of the term sovereignty in an Ushuaian context also points to differing priorities regarding placemaking within the local society, which is discussed in chapters throughout the thesis.

[127] Note that while I am discussing Argentina's particular case here, the military involvement in Antarctic operations is equally prevalent in other nations' Antarctic approaches.

Horacio Jaunarena who outlined objectives and plans for the ATS secretariat in Buenos Aires.[128] The British response states that

> "[t]he UK notes also the greater emphasis that Argentina intends to place on the role of civilians within its Direccion Nacional Antarctico [sic] (DNA) and its Antarctic Stations. The new appointment of a civilian Head of the Direccion [sic] is a welcome step." (ATCM XXIV:34)

Antarctic bases are of strategic importance in the continuing struggle to consolidate claimant states' sovereign rights. Daniel referred to the Brazilian Antarctic base that was destroyed by a fire in 2012, suggesting that due to the new, stricter environmental guidelines, it might have to be re-built on posts. This design was modelled upon the British bases that spearheaded a system which would lessen the bases' impact on Antarctic ground. Daniel mused that the new Brazilian base might be smaller,

> "but they won't abandon it, because today, the Antarctic bases are the nailed flags in Antarctica. Yes, they're for the future, everybody's betting... they're doing science, but they're doing politics. All the bases are doing politics over there."

The advancing of Antarctic science, not only for claimant states, is intimately tied with international political positioning, territorial aspirations, and relations of power (cf. Dodds 2011:235). In the light of these understandings, those of my research participants who took an interest in Antarctica emphasised the strategic position Argentina had manoeuvred itself into. They perceived Ushuaia as a gateway port that carries international responsibility as the place other nations had to pass through on their way south. At the same time, some of my research participants regarded the efforts that the government was making towards national Antarctic politics to be short-sighted. Vicente, a social worker, suggested that the political debate on Antarctica exclusively focused on defending Argentina's Antarctic claim against Chile, whose claim overlaps with that of Argentina and the UK (see Figure 7.1). This perception, while it may hold underlying truths and reminders about the uneasy territorial relationship between Argentina and Chile, overlooks the fact that under the ATS, Chile and Argentina have a mutual understanding that they accept and respect each other's claim despite not agreeing on its boundaries. As a personal opinion that I have found to be repeated amongst other research

[128] The long debate about the establishment of a secretariat for the ATS, and the location of it, had come to an end with a decision made in 2001. The (mainly political) circumstances complicating this decision are further explained in the following footnote.

participants, however, it serves as a valuable indicator of the still-present bi-national rivalry and tensions that influence residents' perceptions of Antarctica and its strategic and national importance.

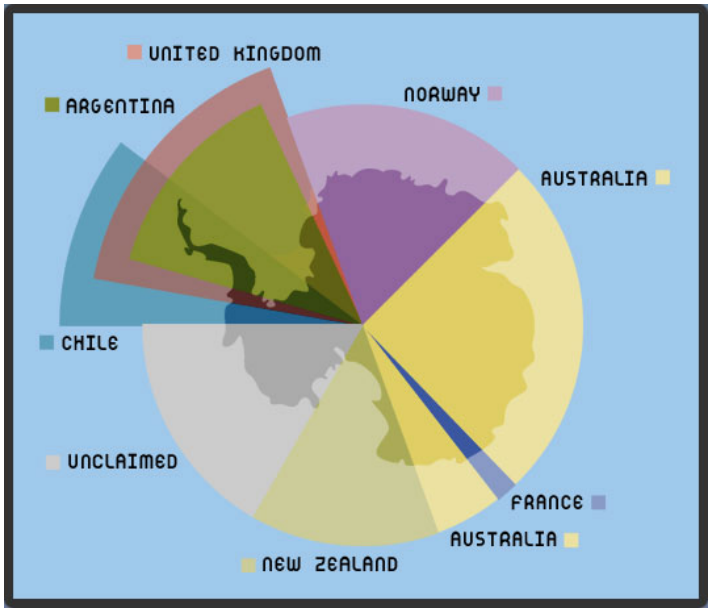



**Figure 7.1** Map depicting the overlap of Argentine, Chilean, and British claims in Antarctica (Source: Deviant Art 2011).

Vicente believed a far-sighted, inclusive political approach that aims to build an environmental consciousness and a national identification with Antarctica to be lacking. Similarly Jorge, a captain of an Antarctic expedition vessel, suggested that there was a slow increase of awareness about Antarctica among the general population of South America, but a broader understanding of the continent and its meaning for global ecology and international politics was yet to be developed:

> "[Especially in the recent past] Antarctica was made up of just two places for Argentines: an air base named Marambio, and a land base named Esperanza. That's the publicity about Antarctica that exists in Argentina. (...) We don't perceive Antarctica as something global with all that this implies, with the environment, wildlife, or the possibilities for science. We have a very small vision of reality, too small."

Argentina's interest in Antarctica was advanced by president Juan Perón in the 1940s following a decline of the country's global financial importance in the 1930s (Dodds 1997:52). Based on the conviction that the South Atlantic needed to be 'decolonised' and Britain's stronghold dissolved, Argentina began to emphasise its 'natural' claim on the South Atlantic islands and parts of Antarctica. While the Antarctic Treaty (Article IV) froze the sovereignty

claims of participating nation states, Argentina accepted this only hesitatingly and did not fully adopt the internationalist vision of Antarctica that the Treaty embraced (Dodds 1997:58-61). In 2006, the Argentine ambassador Juan Carlos Beltramino emphasised that the pre-Treaty claim titles to Antarctica were still valid, regardless of the lack of an official document confirming this. He suggested that other nations recognized the prestige position Argentina held due to having been the first and sole permanent presence in Antarctica for several decades prior to the signing of the Treaty in 1959. The proof for this, according to Beltramino, was in the fact that Buenos Aires had been accepted as the seat for the Secretariat of the Antarctic Treaty (in Abruza 2006:283).[129] Ironically, Great Britain had expressed its concern about Argentina potentially attaching "great symbolic importance to the location of such a body in their capital" (Dodds and Manóvil 2002:156) previous to the establishment of a permanent secretariat to the Antarctic Treaty.

With the disposition described above in mind, it is not surprising that many of the Argentines I interacted with during my fieldwork were prone to overlooking the meaning of a shared, global Antarctica. Education around the Antarctic is taught from a nationalist point of view and could be seen to be indoctrinating territorialist viewpoints (cf. Escude 1988:160). This is likely at least part of the reason why these research participants primarily regarded (parts of) the continent in terms of their own property. Jorge, an urban development employee at the municipality, suggested that

> "[i]f you mention [the global management of Antarctica] in Argentina, they will immediately have a go at you saying that no, 'that is ours', because they don't even know the Treaty, and even less the part about the environment, much less that one."

[129] The Secretariat of the Antarctic Treaty System was established and based in Buenos Aires in 2004 (Secretariat of the Antarctic Treaty 2011). A permanent secretariat to the Antarctic Treaty had been deliberately omitted during the original Treaty negotiations in Washington (Scott 2003:476). The long-standing territorial and diplomatic conflict between Argentina and the UK and the overlapping Argentine, Chilean, and British claims resulted in a decentralised approach to ATS administration that worked well for over four decades (Scott 2003:478). Reservations towards a permanent secretariat were based on concerns held by claimants that it might lead to an eventual internationalisation of Antarctica, a step which would threaten the (frozen, suspended) existing sovereign claims (Scott 2003:479). After having regularly been raised at ATCMs since 1985, the necessary unanimous support to establish the secretariat was reached in 2001 when the UK withdrew its opposition to the proposed Buenos Aires location (Scott 2003:480; ATCM XXIV:34).

I found this assumption to be confirmed with several of my research participants, one of them Natalia, who had a strong interest in visiting Antarctica and an equally strong opinion on who the continent belongs to. She claimed that the Argentine-Chilean border struggles were a Chilean strategy to claim a bigger stake of Antarctic territory. In her opinion, Antarctica rightfully belonged to those countries that were closest to it geographically:

> "Chile owns a smaller part, and Argentina [owns] the rest. New Zealand and Australia might have claims, but Antarctica is not theirs. Staking a claim somewhere does not make land belong to you."

Making substantial parts of the Argentine public perceive Antarctic issues as more than just nationalist aspirations would require an education that surpasses the territorial, nationalist focus. Franco, a sociologist from Buenos Aires, perceived Antarctica as tightly in the grip of scientists and nationalist territorial ambitions. This further removed it from the reach of anybody outside of that circle, making a sense of ownership and identification hard to achieve for a civilian. As a researcher working in a field not affiliated with the natural sciences, he had considerable difficulties obtaining a research permit to visit the continent. This led him to perceive Antarctica to be 'hijacked' by an elitist group of scientists, operating under the umbrella of exclusionist national politics. He suggested that "Antarctica is invaded… polluted by scientists. There are many interests at work. The prevailing attitude is that of an imperialist territorial possession – it is hypocritical."

Many of my research participants affiliated with Antarctic institutions believed that the lack of national interest in matters beyond claim-staking and the according politics manifested itself in a local ignorance about Antarctica. Notwithstanding Ushuaia's geographical proximity to Antarctica and the insular efforts of Antarctica-affiliated institutions to raise awareness about its global and local importance, residents generally did not possess an according interest in and disposition toward Antarctica. Institutions such as the Antarctic Commission, campaigns such as the Antarctic Week, and educational visits to schools were organised by individuals with a passion for overarching Antarctic matters and operated on a semi-autonomous, self-developed agenda. They attempted to instil in residents a sense of connection and inclusion in Antarctic matters. However, Daniel suggested that this would work only with the younger generations and those inhabitants who were born in the province of Tierra del Fuego. The migrants who arrived in the past twenty-five years, Daniel believed,

> "don't have any Antarctic culture, much less sub-Antarctic culture. [They are] people from Formosa, Buenos Aires and other provinces, and because they're very much in the

South already, they're not looking even further south. (...) It's like they don't want any further south."

During the International Polar Year in 2007/8, members of Antarctica-affiliated local institutions attempted to work together with the Sub-Commission of Education so that those who came with what Daniel called "the Northern mindset" could start to understand Southern matters. However, he suggested that the city was "not yet formatted culturally" when it came to Antarctica. Changing this "cultural formatting", or instigating an education and formation that resulted in an increased Antarctic awareness among Ushuaian residents, is what Daniel's Antarctica-related work agenda aims at (see Chapter 8). Following the arguments that the Secretariat of Tourism brought forward, the cultural emphasis or values prevalent among residents from the North focused more on the immediate or mid-range personal ambitions than on abstract, long-term provincial ambitions related with Antarctica. An unawareness of the Antarctic history and significance may play a role in this for some of these residents. So does, arguably, a degree of fatalistic cynicism that is based on the failure to see how Antarctica and Antarctic tourism could have a positive (economic) impact on the lives of Ushuaia's working-class economic migrants. As shown in Chapter 5, access to employment in tourism other than in low-paid positions is restricted for economic migrants who lack most of the necessary qualifications and skills. Drawing on the Othering processes that include the separating of residents into VyQ and NyC that I presented in Chapter 3, and incorporating Daniel's concept of a "Northern mindset", it is mostly economic migrants or VyQ that would be targeted by Antarctic awareness-raising campaigns.

Daniel recounted how in a recent meeting with barrio leaders, people of very limited financial resources, they were asked whether they had ever learned anything about Antarctica. It turned out that the last education the participants had had about this topic had been in elementary school. In Hobart, Christchurch and Punta Arenas, Daniel suggested, people were on top of this problem, and much more concerned with it. As a factual statement, it is difficult to gauge whether this assumption holds true. It does, however, point to Daniel's awareness of Ushuaia as a competitive actor on an international stage. Daniel compared Ushuaia's function and capabilities as an Antarctic gateway port and contrasted what he perceived as a lack of political incentives and willingness to further this potential against other gateway ports. While Argentina should support an Antarctica-relevant education from preschool to university, an implementation was unlikely because decision makers in the Education Ministry "are also from the North and have no sense of identification with the topic of Antarctica" (Daniel, pers. comm.

2012). Daniel explained that also on the local level, there was prevalent a certain disregard for Antarctic matters. He gave as an example Pilar, the director of the Antarctic Office, who had previously been working at the InFueTur but was relocated to head the Antarctic Office after a fall-out with a supervisor – a step that was considered a punishment. Daniel believed that those in Ushuaia who worked on Antarctic matters did so "by coincidence", not because the government did any awareness-raising on the topic. Not to include Antarctica in the official educational syllabus in a province that carried the name Antarctica[130] in it was aberrant, Daniel suggested, and elaborated:

> "But that goes to show you that this is an alluvial population. Alluvial is a great mass of people who stem from another place. [T]he people who live here, the original settlers in this place, came because of the prison, which means they, too, didn't have a vision of the future. [And] imagine, living around a prison didn't have much intellectual flight. It was almost half as a punishment that they came."

The 'intellectual flight', or the ability to see beyond immediate, short-term and personal needs, was always missing in Ushuaia, Daniel suggested, as was a sense of future. Many established residents I spoke to believe that the alluvial population, those not born in the city or the province, is comprised of economic migrants who do not settle down enough to develop a sense of belonging that would make them receptive to topics and behaviours connected to the long-term wellbeing and prosperity of the region (see Chapter 3). Assumptions from the local debate on informal settlements that divided the population into opposing camps of the responsible, community-minded, future-mindful Us and the opportunistic, temporary and self-focused Them (see Chapter 6) resurface in the Antarctic debate. In this line of thinking and from a NyC's point of view, established residents or NyC possess a stronger sense of place and a greater identity with the province, which manifests in a stronger sense of care for the city and an interest in its long-term prosperity. Similar to the discussion about the aesthetic qualities of landscape presented in Chapter 4, established residents equate an interest in Antarctica with a greater personal investment in and dedication to the place.

Citizens connected to governmental organizations affiliated with Antarctica located the reasons for the aforementioned cognitive disconnection from Antarctica in two sources. On the

[130] The complete name of the province is Province of Tierra del Fuego, Antarctica and South Atlantic Islands (Provincia de Tierra del Fuego, Antártida e Islas del Atlántico Sur).

one hand, Ushuaia's migrant population is too rooted in their own provincial histories, and on the other hand, Argentina's national Antarctic politics disregard the ideological value of Antarctica and long-term requirements of an Antarctic identity-building. This in turn influences and shapes the efforts of provincial tourism administrators and Antarctic authorities to strengthen and enhance Ushuaia's position as a strategically important Antarctic gateway city.

## Local benefits? Residents' perceptions of Antarctic tourism

In the following section, I explore the way that some of my research participants perceive Antarctic tourism in Ushuaia. Understanding some of the different existing viewpoints (based on both socio-economic and environmental arguments) allows insights into the ways in which different social groups among the residents relate to Antarctic tourism. It also allows insights into some of the socio-economic arguments that support the placemaking strategies employed by touristic city authorities.

The local debate focuses on two perspectives: Antarctic tourism either does or does not produce sufficient local benefits to be considered an asset to the overall city economy. Such was the saturation[131] with the question of whether Antarctic tourism produces local benefits that my mention of it in some interviews was merely waved aside. To understand the opinions and arguments discussed in the following sections, it is worthwhile noting that there are two categories of ship-based tourism that are referred to here. Daverio, Jensen and Vereda (2007) differentiate between touristic cruise ships (cruceros turísticos) and Antarctic touristic cruise ships (cruceros turísticos antárticos) (see Table 7.2).

[131] In many of my interviews with research participants from the Antarctic or touristic sector, the topic of local benefits came up without my prompting it. When on one occasion I questioned the dismissal of my question about local benefits, a research participant explained that "This is all they [the population not in favour of or interested in Antarctic tourism] focus on – local benefits. They do not look at the bigger [economic, political] picture. They just use the catchphrase" (Luz, 2012). My research participant expressed her frustration at what she perceived of ignorance and stubbornness related to the topic of Antarctic tourism, and lamented that the positive (economic, political) contributions that Antarctic tourism entailed did not receive wider mention in debate and media.

**Table 7.2** Characteristics of touristic cruise ships and Antarctic touristic cruise ships (adapted from Daverio, Jensen and Vereda 2007:43f)

| Touristic cruise ships | Antarctic touristic cruise ships |
|---|---|
| Ushuaia is used as transit port. In other cases, especially with regional shipping companies, Ushuaia is used as starting or ending point of the itinerary. | Ushuaia is used as home port. In a minority of voyages, it is used as transit port with either start or end of the itinerary in Ushuaia. |
| The destination area corresponds to southern Patagonia and the southern area of South America. In some cases, Antarctic waters are navigated. | The destination area is the Argentine Antarctic sector, Malvinas Islands and sub-Antarctic islands. The itinerary may include other South American ports, on either the Atlantic or Pacific side. |
| The vessel and its services are fundamental parts of the touristic experience. | The vessel and its services facilitate the reaching of the destination, which is the fundamental part of the touristic experience. |
| This modality is another way of approaching southern Patagonia as a touristic destination. | This modality facilitates nearly all of the touristic trips to Antarctica. |
| Operated by big foreign cruise lines. Currently, there is only one regional shipping company that operates on a regional itinerary. | Ships of foreign ownership, operated by foreign tour operators. There are two regional companies that operate in Antarctica (Chilean and Argentine). |

Differentiations are based on emic use of these terms in everyday language and dialogue. When using the terms cruise tourism or cruise ship tourism (turismo de crucero), I refer to large, mainstream or luxury liners that either (1) do not go to Antarctica or (2) go to Antarctica but do not include landings.[132] In colloquial, everyday speech in Ushuaia, the term Antarctic tourism (turismo Antártico) is used to refer to expedition-type tourism which uses smaller vessels of up to one hundred passengers and includes landings in Antarctica. Whereas cruise ships mainly use the port as a transit point only (puerto de escala, see Daverio, Jensen and Vereda 2007:63f), expedition-type cruises mean that tourists embark and disembark in Ushuaia, usually spending a night in the city prior to the embarkation of the ship.

Those of my research participants who supported Antarctic tourism because they regarded it as beneficial to the overall economic wellbeing of the city usually listed the sectors

[132] A research participant referred to this kind of tourism somewhat deprecatingly as “doing the Antarctic wallpaper thing”, meaning that Antarctica, untouched, glides by the cruise passengers as if it were a background image.

that were able to generate income from the visitors.[133] As generally only expedition-style Antarctic vessels begin and/or end their trips in the Ushuaian port, a mere 15% of all Antarctic tourists stay one night or more in Ushuaia (Vereda 2008:201). Antarctic ships generally depart in the morning or early afternoon, and many companies encourage tourists to arrive in Ushuaia the night before departure day in order to avoid missing out on the cruise. On a tight schedule due to pre-booked landing slots and expensive anchoring fees at the port, Antarctic vessels cannot wait for passengers whose flights were cancelled because of bad weather conditions or other factors. The recommendation to arrive the previous night meant that, unlike cruise ship tourists who spent less than twelve hours in each port, Antarctic expedition-type tourists created revenue by spending a minimum of one night in Ushuaia. Felipa, a university lecturer, expanded on this:

> "While the cruise ship tourists buy local excursions, this is the only sector they give benefits to; they don´t benefit the food services or the hospitality sector as they have everything included already. They only buy souvenirs and excursions."

Cruise ships have been compared to "cathedrals of consumption" (Ritzer et al. 2005) in their aim to increase passenger spending by offering an exhaustive array of entertainment and shopping options on board. This creation of an economic "tourist bubble" results in less incentives for off-board spending and leaves less revenue in port communities (Weaver 2005; Vogel 2011). In contrast, Antarctic expedition-type tourism offers little to no opportunities for on-board spending and as such encourages the generation of host community revenue. Local social scientists (Vereda 2004; 2008) argue that Ushuaia should aim to become a complimentary location to Antarctica, an anteroom to the White Continent that links the Argentine province of Tierra del Fuego with Antarctica. This connection could be found in geological and paleontological similarities as well as flora, fauna, and local links to the Antarctic Heroic Age. This development would help Ushuaia evolve into more than just a hop-off port to Antarctica as it might increase touristic overnight stays and revenue. The benefits of Antarctic tourism would be distributed among wider parts of the local community. Ushuaia as a complimentary destination would also result in an increase of local consciousness and pride for a past that links the city with Antarctica, and augment the perceived value of landscape and local culture (Vereda 2008).

---

[133] Vereda reports that of all Antarctic tourists in the season of 2000/2001, 99% use transportation in and out of Ushuaia; 5% go on a city tour; 40% visit the National Park; 23% go on a Beagle Channel tour, and 18% go to Lago Fagnano (2004:5).

At present, the benefits that Antarctic tourism entails are limited. While representatives of Ushuaia's municipality announce that "Ushuaia provides Antarctic cruises with guides, expedition leaders, lecturers, [and] crewmembers" (Municipalidad de Ushuaia 2009), this translates to minimal numbers, as most staff are from abroad or other parts of Argentina. Johanna emphasised that, while tour guides and scientists employed by their company come from Buenos Aires and Mar del Plata, they are trying to include more local guides. The company already employs local people for administrative work and for the shopping and handling of fresh produce that is supplied to the vessels via local maritime agencies. However, Segundo, an employee at one of the local maritime agencies, explained that stocking up on provisions in Ushuaia held risks and challenges for the providers. Tourists, expecting an elevated standard of quality in food served on board after paying steep prices for their tickets, inadvertently put high pressure on local providers to maintain this standard even through financially more pressing times (Segundo, pers. comm. 2012).

Daniel emphasised that Antarctic tourism created more benefits for the community than other types of tourism:

> "What I tell those [who do not think so] is the following: Ask the people of Bariloche, of San Martín de los Andes, of Iguazú, if they wouldn't want a port through which 450,000 cruise ship tourists pass per year – 230,000 of them Antarctic. They'd kill to have that. [...] Every tourist always leaves something."

He argued that those residents who claimed that Antarctic tourism entailed no local benefits, focused only on the fact that some of the passengers did not stay overnight locally. Also, it was easy to overlook the more indirectly related local sectors that profited from Antarctic and cruise ship tourism, particularly waste management companies that handle incoming waste. However, the only treatment that exists in Ushuaia is the landfill, and waste is not treated or processed otherwise. The vast amount of garbage that is deposited in the city stems from Antarctic expedition-type tourism, as cruise ships take their residues back to their countries of origin (Daverio et al. 2005). A gateway port that engages in pro-environmental tasks and helps reduce the illegal yet allegedly common cruise ship practice of dumping waste into the sea (Daverio et al. 2005:3) is in greater accordance with the Treaty System's environmental regulations and requirements. Following the perceptions of some of my research participants that I outlined in previous chapters of this thesis, this would elevate Ushuaia's profile as a gateway port and strengthen Argentina's foothold in the Antarctic.

Similarly, Pilar believed that it was not Antarctic tourism that citizens thought of when criticizing tourism in Ushuaia, but rather the very visible, dominating cruise ship tourism. Cruise ship tourism entails huge vessels docked in the port; a National Park that is heavily frequented by tourists carried in by the bus load; and masses of visitors crowding the city centre for a few hours during their landing time. The movements of Antarctic tourists on the other hand are less visible to the resident, as passengers generally get off the ships before 8 am and in some cases have a transport directly to the airport. Their previous overnight stays in the city before embarkation and the revenue generated through local consumption are, however, economically valuable for Ushuaia. Those tourists who come to Ushuaia looking for a last-minute deal to Antarctica are of an even higher economic value to the community. They stay in hostels, use local transport, frequent local restaurants and participate in touristic activities to fill the days they have to wait until their trip to Antarctica.

The critics of Antarctic tourism dispute that there are substantial local benefits from Antarctic tourism. Alejandro Bertotto, an Argentine Antarctic scientist and politician, suggests that at present, the Ushuaian community's approach to Antarctic tourism is limited to "counting passengers who benefit third parties" (in Taborda Strusiat 2005). Humberto, a researcher at the local university, alleged that most of the profits generated through Antarctic tourism did not profit local or locally owned businesses. Except for one travel agency, all were foreign-owned and -operated. Most of the guides on board the Antarctic vessels were foreigners, and none of the maritime agents were Fueguino-owned. He deducted that "if the capital of a business is foreign, what stays here is crumbs, while the big cake is going to the outside." Humberto believed that with the exception of many of the local restaurants that have been in the hand of local families for a long time, not much capital gain was kept in the province.

Ayala et al. (2009) criticize that the current tourism politics are focused on the economic benefits tourism entails, and neglect the social and environmental realm. Of the capital gain that remained in the province, only a few select parties – those directly connected to the port and the employed tourism services – benefitted. While there are attempts to increase the local production of produce to supply to Antarctic vessels and cruise ships, they remain insular and only moderately successful. While the quality of the fruit (strawberries) and vegetables (salad) produced locally were deemed satisfactory by chefs on the Antarctic vessels supplied to, several factors stand in the way of a more extensive supply. The lack of adequate local infrastructure for a larger-scale production, limited access to credit, lack of quality certification and packaging and delivery difficulties prevent the local production from being more reliable (Vereda and Mosti

2005). To extend the province's capacity to supply Antarctic tourism vessels with fruit and vegetables, the government has been urged to develop appropriate business and education strategies. That this is possible is evidenced by the fact that in Ushuaia's past, private vegetable gardens were common and successful (Mateo, pers. comm. 2012; Museo del Fin del Mundo, pers. comm. 2012). However, one of the principle challenges in this plan is that a changing population with migrants from mostly urban backgrounds has altered Ushuaian residents' culture from one of at least partially growing their own food, to a 'supermarket culture' (cf. Vereda 2007).

### Privileged access to the Antarctic

Placemaking and a sense of place that include Antarctica are made more difficult by a lack of access to the White Continent for the average Ushuaian resident – both tangibly and symbolically. The opportunities for local residents to visit Antarctica are limited. While employees in government or factory positions theoretically earn sufficient money to pay the discounted last-minute prices (depending on the month of departure, a ten-day trip on an expedition vessel costs between US$ 3,000 and 4,500)[134], the interest among residents to visit Antarctica is limited. Jorge, a captain on an Antarctic vessel, believed that this is due to a lack of advertisement and promotion of Antarctica and Antarctic tourism by non-private entities, particularly the National Ministry of Tourism (the entity overseeing tourism development at the national level):

> "[T]he average Argentinean is more prone to travel to the USA which is a lot further away for us [than Antarctica]. The total cost would be the same (...) but in the newspapers you see a hundred advertisements for travelling to Disneyworld and none for Antarctica." (Jorge, pers. comm. 2012)

For that part of the population that has an interest in Antarctica but not the necessary economic resources, there are only a few potential ways of visiting the continent. Partaking in competitions run by universities and Antarctica-affiliated local institutions that take the winner

[134] Note that these are the prices for last-minute tickets available from travels agencies directly in Ushuaia. Depending on the type of cruise and activities included, tickets that are sold approximately a year in advance can be well in excess of this. A US polar travel agency, Antarctic Connection (2014), listed the price of a "basic cruise" (9-12 days) as ranging from US$ 3,600 - 9,000. "Expedition options" that included activities such as camping, climbing, or skiing in Antarctica started at US$ 40,000.

to Antarctica is one option. These competitions target mostly school-aged or university students, focusing on the younger and still malleable generation in the attempt to form a local Antarctic identity. Going with a university class as part of a curriculum is another way, but is limited to enrolled students. Similarly, going as part of a military mission, for example delivering supplies to the bases, working in the bases as civilians, particularly teachers or maintenance personnel, or as scientists, are options for a few and specialized people only. For those without the necessary academic requirements or economic resources, the only option is to apply for a position on one of the tourist cruise vessels going to Antarctica. This can be either as staff (lecturers, guides, or Zodiac drivers, sometimes encompassing all three elements in one position) or as part of the crew (particularly as cleaners, maids, chefs, kitchen hands, or waiters). The former allows mainly for limited one-time, last-minute positions, as most of the full-season job vacancies are advertised and filled in Buenos Aires or abroad. Crew are often Philippine, paid in their home country as lower wages mean savings for hiring companies. Last-minute, one-time vacancies for Ushuaian residents emerge when regularly contracted crew take a break or decide to leave their position at the next available harbour. Substitute workers for these positions are found through informal channels by word of mouth and personal recommendations from captains, maritime agents, or staff from local Antarctic companies.

Mora, a local tourist guide working on catamaran tours, knew of the importance of personal connections and outlined that

> "[i]f you know the right person to talk to, they will take you and you can go (…) as a favour. Getting hired will be immediate – the ship comes in around ten or eleven at night, their recruiters contact you immediately, and at 8am the next morning, you're gone."

She described various hopeful nights of waiting for a call after she had been aware of crew leaving Antarctic ships. However, her attempts at getting offered a last-minute position as a waitress on board of an Antarctica-bound vessel had so far all failed.

Some of the residents' attempts to obtain one of the desired jobs were successful. I spoke to six Ushuaians in their twenties and thirties who had managed to be hired on an Antarctic trip. While for some of these workers the financial remunerations were deciding factors, mostly it was the opportunity to experience Antarctica that was deemed more important. For this, they were willing to accept hard work with a comparatively modest payment. Some companies, aware of the interest, use this willingness to their advantage and accept volunteers in exchange for a supposedly free passage. Johanna, an Ushuaia-based

Antarctic expedition leader, was critical of these practices. When I mentioned to her that I had heard of a couple of young Israelis who had agreed to a work-exchange deal to go to Antarctica for free, Johanna laughed. When I inquired about her reaction, she explained that she found it shocking that a company would exploit a worker this way. At the beginning of the season, the company she worked at regularly received inquiries by tourists about doing work-exchanges on board. Johanna recounted how she read on average an email per day asking to be taken along for free as expedition staff. These applications she ruled out immediately as she did not want to take anyone along for free. She felt that it would create exploitative conditions and would put herself in a difficult situation when the "free kitchen hands" asked for landings but were also needed in the kitchen.

The opportunity to see Antarctica was appreciated by many of my research participants who had travelled to the White Continent, but the conditions of work often turned out to be less satisfying than hoped for. Aracelia, a woman in her 30s, had worked as a pastry chef on a tourist vessel. During her twenty-seven day roundtrip, she had not been allowed to make any landings. She was told by her superiors that crew was allowed landings only after about a dozen trips, which even then would remain a privilege, not a right: "It's like you have to earn the right to do a landing." Access to landings depended on the job given. Anita, a tourism guide in her late 20s who had worked as a housekeeper on the French cruise ship Le Boreal, recounted no difficulties. She emphasised that she had been allowed to go on every landing as her shifts summed up to only four hours a day and she was allowed to work a flexible schedule.

The payment was perceived as either adequate for the privilege to travel to Antarctica, or insufficient when compared to the amount tourists paid for a ticket as well as the work the position involved. Iván, a man in his early thirties who was employed in a local ski rental business, had worked as a kitchen hand on a French cruise ship, Le Boreal, to cover for another crew member who was going on vacation. He described the work as "good", earning US$ 25 per hour for a total of four hours of work per day. This amounted to around US$ 1,100 for the eleven-day trip, "practically nothing"[135] compared to the prices of up to US$ 15,000 that passengers paid for the excursion. Despite this, Iván did not regret taking on the job as it was

[135] How the income was assessed depended on what it was compared to. Joaquín, a pastry chef, contrasted the US$ 1,400 he earned on a ten-day trip on a Russian cruise ship to the lesser income he earned in the same amount of time in Ushuaia, and deemed it 'good money'.

"the easiest way for me to go to Antarctica without paying". Anita confirmed that she would have also accepted an unpaid last-minute position in exchange for free passage to Antarctica.[136]

Vanina, an employee in a local photography store who was in her mid-thirties, told me she too had wanted to work on a ship but was then offered the job at her current work for the season, so she stayed. A friend of hers, Ricarda, earned 8,000 pesos (approximately US$ 1,400) per month as a waitress on a cruise ship. She was not satisfied with this as she had to work considerably more hours than she had been told when she was hired. Another woman, Clementina, earned less on the ship than what she would have earned working as a waitress in the city, so she abandoned work because she had debts with her brother. Anita was paid US$ 250 for fifteen days aboard an Antarctic cruise ship and decided to limit her engagement to one trip only as she would not have earned enough money to cover her basic living expenses in Ushuaia:

> "[T]he money isn't that good, here [in Ushuaia] 250 dollars are a thousand pesos, and for fifteen days of work, a thousand pesos is very little, it's not enough. To rent a place comes to 2,500 pesos a month. (...) A thousand pesos per month, that's the wage that the Filipinos get. Maybe for them it's enough, but here, it isn't."

Work as a member of staff[137] on board was more beneficial economically than the lower-waged positions that were filled last-minute. Completing three return trips per month yields between US$ 4,000 and US$ 5,000. No opportunity to spend the money on board meant that staff ended the season with a considerable amount of income. Olivia, a woman in her early thirties who had been working as a lecturer on board for five seasons, remarked that because this job paid very well, expedition staff did not need to do much work during the rest of the year.

---

[136] These experiences are mostly congruent with the experiences recounted to me by Chilean research participants in Punta Arenas. Aurelia, a Chilean woman in her mid-20s whom I encountered in Punta Arenas, recounted how she had obtained a job as a waitress on an Antarctic cruise ship leaving from Ushuaia, but found herself overwhelmed by working hours and underpaid in her wages. She did not have the opportunity to make a landing. Tadeo on the other hand, a Peruvian man in his 30s who was living in Punta Arenas, had been hired as a tour guide for Antarctic roundtrips by plane, departing from Punta Arenas. Tadeo reported that he was feeling disillusioned by his experience, citing the "mostly ice-free" landscape and the visibility of human impact as his main reasons (the trip itinerary includes a landing on King George Island). While he perceived the payment as adequate, he was hesitant to repeat the experience.

[137] Note that there is a difference between staff (i.e. cruise directors and assistants, lecturers, and shore excursion employees) and crew (service employees who work under the direction of a supervisor or manager, i.e. waiters, chefs, cabin stewards, electricians, etc.) (Motz 2014).

A teacher herself, with school holidays between late December and March, she was able to combine both jobs and live a very comfortable life in Ushuaia.

Among those residents who had an interest in Antarctica, meeting someone who had managed to go to the ice was either a source of envy or connection. An almost elitist circle of local Antarcticans existed in the sense that access to Antarctica was limited and restricted, and successful attempts were contingent on the right social connections and the disposition to undertake uncomfortable work for comparatively little or even no money.

### Residents' perceptions of Antarctic tourists

Restricted access to Antarctica, an elitist aura around those who had managed to go[138], and negative socio-economic repercussions on residents can, in some cases, contribute to a level of dissociation from Antarctic tourists. While working in a central hostel, I encountered several instances in which a certain contempt or weariness from the hostel owner towards Antarctic tourists shone through. On one occasion, I served as a translator to the owner, a Porteño named Domenico who was in his late 30s and did not speak English. A European woman in her 60s tried to communicate to him that she wanted to pay for accomodation and laundry. The total of what she had to pay summed up to ARG$ 98 (US$ 17). Upon hearing this, the woman seemed distressed and told me that she thought the room would be cheaper. Domenico, whose face expressed an increasing annoyance, wordlessly pointed to a handwritten cardboard sign behind the counter that announced that the price per night was ARG$ 70 (US$ 12). The woman eventually paid, seemingly intimidated by his crude behaviour, and left. Turning to me, Domenico exaggeratedly rolled his eyes and said,

> "I can't believe some of those tourists. She goes to Antarctica tomorrow for 4,000 dollars, and here she worries about a handful of pesos. (...) They try to rob me! They want to haggle me down to 68 pesos."

In a similar instant, two Japanese tourists, women in their late thirties, stopped by the hostel and inquired about availability and prices. In functional Spanish, they communicated to Domenico that they were going to Antarctica the next day and wanted to book two beds for

[138] Note that this appraisal refers to the perspective of both those who had gone to Antarctica and those who had not. It derives from my observations and interactions with both parties during my fieldwork.

their return ten days later. When they asked how much a night cost, Domenico told them straight-faced and with an underlying aggression that the price was US$ 120, then imitated their alarmed and surprised facial expressions. After a few seconds, in which the Japanese tourists talked among themselves in Japanese, he pointed to the cardboard sign behind the counter and repeated the real price of seventy pesos (US$ 12). The two women reacted by patting him on the shoulder, laughing, and expressing their relief and apparent understanding of his perceived comical efforts. They assured him that they had firm plans to return to the hostel after their trip. One of the women asked whether she could use the WiFi, pointing to her laptop, and with a dismissive hand gesture and a frown, he allowed it. Turning to me, Domenico said that he did not like people who spend US$ 4,000 on an exclusive trip but then haggle over the price of a night in a hostel and try to freeload by using the internet.

His antipathy toward "cheap" tourists seemed to be concentrated on Antarctic tourists. A German tourist in his late twenties stepped up to the counter one afternoon in November, and asked Domenico how much he owed for five nights. As if wanting to prove his point previously made of Antarctic tourists being especially fastidious and tight-fisted, Domenico was slow to respond. After a few seconds of charged silence, he finally said dead-pan, "a hundred and twenty Euros", blinking an eye in my direction as if to alert me to pay attention. The German tourist did not seem to find this funny and said impatiently,

> "Amigo, I don't have Euros. How much?"
>
> **Domenico:** "Are you going to Antarctica?"
>
> **Tourist** (irritated): "Yes. Why?"
>
> **Domenico:** "How much do you pay?"
>
> **Tourist** (impatient): "3,600 dollars. Why?"

Domenico turned around to me and shrugged, as if to say, "typical". Without giving an explanation for his questions, he proceeded to charge the tourist the normal price which was paid without objection. When the German had left, Domenico turned to me and said in a half-aggressive, half-joking tone, "You too are terrible, aren't you?" Gracia, a hostel employee who was folding towels on a table a metre away, laughed. When I inquired what he meant, he explained that

> "[t]ourists are trying to rip me off. Those two Germans are typical Europeans – they think we're sudacos [derogative term for South Americans]."

**Andrea** (protests): "Oh come on…"

**Gracia** (butting in): "Yes, they think that we are stupid, that's how they treat us."

**Domenico:** "Tourists will try to take advantage of you whenever they can."

This derogatory stance he perceived as especially bitter as Antarctic tourists[139] can afford a seemingly disproportionate amount of money for a trip to Antarctica but are unwilling to support local businesses that charge moderate and reasonable rates for their services. This contempt may hint at a perceived imbalance of benefits that arise from Antarctic tourism to the local community. In general, passengers who have booked Antarctic tour packages reside in pre-booked, high-end hotels in Ushuaia, whereas tourists who take advantage of last-minute package deals organize their own accommodation. With the numbers of lower middle-class backpackers going to Antarctica on the increase, hostels are increasingly experiencing Antarctica-bound passengers. In travel agencies along the main commercial street in the city as well as in a handful of other locations near the city centre, last-minute packages to Antarctica are prominently featured in windows and displays. Last-minute prices range from US$ 3,500 to US$ 4,500 depending on how far the Antarctic season has progressed[140], and tickets that were bought at non-last minute prices exceed these amounts by at least several thousand US dollars (cf. Antarctic Connection 2014). Even for a generally very affluent society like Ushuaia, this is a steep price. Tourists who are willing and able to pay what constitutes more than the average monthly wage in Ushuaia for a ten-day trip south yet haggle over a few dollars for a night's accommodation on shore are regarded with disdain. The above-discussed perception that Antarctic tourists are generally less profitable to Ushuaia may also come into play here, as they,

[139] Some research participants who frequently deal with Antarctic tourists alerted me to a certain reputation of high-end Antarctic tourists (i.e. not the last-minute clientele). The Service Manager of an Antarctic tour operator described these tourists, often elderly people, as fussy and demanding clients who "pay much – thousands of dollars –, expect much, and don't accept to be treated with anything less than your full attention" (Anselmo, pers. comm. 2012). Similarly, the owner of an upscale B&B noted that on the rather rare occasions when Antarctic tourists checked in, she often received more complaints and requests related to the quality and comfort of the accommodation, which she explained as follows: "They're well-travelled. They're used to high-end accommodation, [they want] only the best. And when they come to Ushuaia, everything needs to be [just so]. It needs to be perfect. Now, we're not a hostel, but they're very demanding."

[140] The best travel times are in December and January, as the pack ice is the most manageable and flora and fauna most accessible. The prices for trips that fall into this period are accordingly higher than for trips at the beginning or end of the season.

along with other cruise tourists, create less revenue for the city than tourists who spend more time in and around Ushuaia.

Beyond the awareness of economic differences between most Ushuaian residents and foreign tourists that Antarctic tourists evoke in some residents, I encountered other, more knowledgeable and differentiated perceptions as well. These perceptions were however limited to those research participants who directly dealt with Antarctic tourists and knew to differentiate them from other cruise ship tourists. In their level of interest and knowledge, these research participants reflect those residents discussed earlier in this chapter whose sense of place includes Antarctic matters and who generally regarded Antarctic tourism as positive and important for Ushuaia. Mora perceived Antarctic tourists as more interested and receptive to the environmental and philosophical notions that surround tourism in general and Antarctic tourism specifically. She connected this to the previous travel experiences and greater insight that led the generally elderly Antarctic tourists to a more balanced and far-sighted understanding about global environmental issues. Antarctic tourists are, in Mora's opinion,

> "a different quality of people. They're a lot more respectful because they know you have to take care [of the world], preserve, because they really realize that Antarctica is crumbling, that there are no more sources of sweet water, (...) that people will suffer (...) in correlation with the melting of Antarctica."

Academic opinions on whether polar tourism produces environmental ambassadors tend toward negating this (Eijgelaar et al. 2010; Maher et al. 2003; Maher et al. 2001; Powell et al. 2008; but also see Sanson 1994). While Antarctic tourism may increase an awareness of global environmental challenges, this rarely results in individual behavioural changes (Eijgelaar et al 2010; Miller et al. 2010). Sheppard (2010) suggests that with an increased exposure to long-haul travel and cruises, ethically questionable practices involving the cruise ship industry are regarded as more acceptable. Experienced travellers may nevertheless show a more focused appreciation of the natural surroundings when abroad. This level of appreciation, Mora believed, could generally not be achieved by a person who travelled the comparatively minor distance of 3,000 km down from Buenos Aires. National tourists in her opinion were less educated about Antarctica and Patagonia, and less interested in the fauna:

> "[Cruise ship passengers] want to know everything about the animals. Whereas the others [regular tourists] don't care. They want to [get] the photo with the seal in the background and that's it."

She preferred talking to cruise ship tourists who showed a genuine interest in the local fauna over Argentines who went on the catamaran trips to "tick off a site":

> "I always say to the Argentines and Brazilians: 'You people travelled 3,000 km [to be here], but there are people who travelled 13,000 or 30,000 km to get to know what you have in an hour-and-a-half flight.' That which you can easily have, you don't value. If it costs you to get to that, you'll appreciate it, you'll see it with different eyes, and you will value it."

But recent demographic developments in Antarctic tourism suggest two scenarios that are likely to complicate the lives of tourist entrepreneurs such as Domenico and Ushuaian tourism workers like Mora. Antarctic tourists tend to be younger, as more visitors are taking advantage of the cheaper last-minute tickets that operators are forced to sell due to more halting pre-sales. This means that the number of younger, less affluent tourists going to Antarctica is likely to increase. This in turn indicates that tipping behaviour during the trips and during Ushuaian excursions is prone to change. As Johanna pointed out, clients who booked last minute usually used up most of their travel budget on the trip and subsequently had little or nothing left to leave in tips. Brian, a Canadian logistics manager working on an expedition vessel, confirmed that his company planned to expand the ship capacity from a hundred passengers to two hundred, and advertise to a younger target group. In doing so, the company would attempt to capture the interest of potential customers by highlighting the adventurous and social side of the trip: "Fifty per cent of the trip is about the social interaction with staff and the other passengers" (Brian, pers. comm. 2012). Not only would these developments impact the overall benefits Antarctic and local tourism workers receive from tourists (this would especially impact lower-paid crew on board) but it would also change tourist characteristics. Brian suggested that

> "More and more now [Antarctic tourists] don't seem to know what they're getting. They bought a trip to Antarctica but they don't know where they're gonna go or what to expect. (...) A few are coming down thinking they should be seeing polar bears... You have people (...) spending ten, fifteen thousand dollars and really not knowing what they're doing. (...) Twenty years ago, people visited Antarctica because they really wanted to see it. But now it's [imitates tourist] 'Oh, Mexico or Antarctica.'"

A younger, less affluent clientele going on last minute trips to Antarctica would still be perceived as affluent by the local population. Haggling and a general unwillingness to pay "inflated" prices (also see El diario del Fin del Mundo 2010) are likely to increase with the change in demographic. This would increase the possibility of Antarctic tourists being perceived as a nuisance by tourism business owners like Domenico. Last minute tourists are likely to be backpackers who generally have an itinerary that sees them travel to other places in Patagonia

after their visit to Ushuaia. Three of my research participants, foreign tourists in their twenties and thirties who had bought last minute tickets to Antarctica reported feeling that no other touristic attraction would favourably compare to it. As a result, they cancelled their plans to visit regional Patagonian glaciers or, in one case, cut short their itinerary by several months and returned to their home country.

Losing regional tourists to Antarctic tourism in this way adds more fuel to the perceptions of those residents who argue against the economic benefits of Antarctic tourism. At the same time, it adds weight to the local debate about enhancing Ushuaia's function as a complimentary Antarctic destination. As the Antarctic clientele is changing, so is the demographic of the visitors who pass through Ushuaia on their way to the White Continent. In order to maintain or increase Ushuaia's attractiveness to these visitors, a stronger infrastructural orientation toward Antarctic tourists was perceived as inescapable by local tourism authorities.

## Conclusion

Antarctica is a place and a concept that is far removed in access and relevance from the lives and interests of much of Ushuaia's population. While interest increases among those parts of society that are directly exposed to Antarctic tourism or able to economically benefit from it, particularly local tourist guides and university students, other parts of the population lack any identification with Antarctica. In my interviews and interactions with residents, I found that these are often economic migrants, or VyQ. Due to a great part of Ushuaian society being temporary residents only or hailing from warmer regions of the country, affective provincial ties to Tierra del Fuego are weak, and Ushuaia is already perceived as the southernmost point of interest. Unaffiliated with the Antarctic sector in terms of employment except for very limited temporary positions as low-paid labourers on Antarctic cruises, economic migrants with a working-class background often fail to see the relevance of the Antarctic business to their lives. Pressing challenges around employment and urbanisation that affect inhabitants' daily lives and the lack of an Antarctica-focused educational upbringing result in a dissociation from the gateway agenda that Antarctica-affiliated local institutions attempt to advance. Employees of these institutions perceive other sectors of the regional and national government to have a lack of interest and understanding of the importance of Antarctic matters for the future of the gateway port. These individuals interpret the national debate about Antarctica as defined by strategic considerations affiliated with Antarctica's resources. Research participants from various

sectors of society confirm this interpretation by frequently referring to Antarctica on a nationalist and territorial basis only.

The local institutional debate about Antarctic tourism addresses and repudiates the lack of local benefits that is ascribed to it by parts of the local society. Cruise ship tourism, in everyday debate sometimes conflated with Antarctic tourism by many residents I spoke with, generates less community revenue and offers an easier target for criticism due to its highly condensed presence. While land-based tourism in and around Ushuaia can be considered the most economically beneficial tourism for the city, Antarctic tourism nevertheless creates revenue by employing local services in various sectors of the city, particularly the port, hospitality, and transport. In much of the public debate that I witnessed, however, this is not recognised. Drawing attention to these economic connections, and strengthening them by expanding into areas such as locally produced food supply for cruise ships, is one of the aims provincial institutions affiliated to Antarctica and tourism strive for. A successful campaign to make Antarctica and Antarctic tourism relevant and (economically) beneficial in the eyes of more of the local residents would strengthen Ushuaia's functioning as a gateway port.

Access to Antarctica is highly restricted. Those residents who managed to travel to Antarctica, either through personal connections or access generated through educational channels, join an elite group of community members. They have managed to cross the barrier that separates the local resident from the financially solvent tourist. For other residents, factors like the financial inaccessibility of the continent contribute to a propensity towards conflict with a group of travellers they may perceive as privileged and entitled. Trends towards a younger Antarctic tourist demographic, driven by both new promotional strategies and a tendency towards the sale of more last-minute tickets, are likely to deepen these underlying resentments and is challenging for the even stronger Antarctic alignment that the city's touristic institutions are pursuing.

# 8 Recent developments in Ushuaia's function as a gateway port

In summer, Ushuaia's connection to Antarctica is highly visible. From October to March, Antarctic expedition vessels and cruise ships dock in the harbour. Travel agencies and several hostels prominently advertise Antarctic trips. The newly opened shopping mall along the National Highway 3, just outside Ushuaia's centre, sports a wall print of Antarctic icebergs on its ground level (Figure 8.1). Taking the ethnographic findings outlined in the previous chapter, the following questions stand to reason: How representative is this of the shared dispositions of Ushuaia's inhabitants in regard to Antarctica? Are the Antarctic manifestations in the city born from hegemonic desires to express an Antarctic affiliation, or are they superimposed by other stakeholders? What stands behind the agenda of promoting Ushuaia's function as an Antarctic gateway port? The Antarctic infrastructure and incidents presented in this chapter have to be understood in the context of the matters explored in Chapter 7. They can be seen as extensions or manifestations of how Ushuaian residents feel about or relate to Antarctica.


**Figure 8.1** A picture of Antarctic icebergs in Ushuaia's newly-built mall (Photograph: A. Herbert)

The "Centennial Book" (el libro del Centenario), a popular work published in 1984 that celebrated the 100th anniversary of the founding of Ushuaia, states that

> Ushuaia is a city that looks toward the South, as if she kept an eye on the Argentine Antarctic land that lies beyond the sea that separates us from it and to which our men arrive after a stop-over in the Fuegian Port.[141]

Miguel Portela, a provincial legislator of Tierra del Fuego, confirms this statement by ascribing Ushuaia a guardian function over Antarctica:

> "We can affirm with total authority that we are basically the eyes and ears of what happens on the White Continent." (in Abruza 2006:269)

The attempts by local Antarctica-affiliated institutions to establish Ushuaia as a gateway port in the social imaginary[142] of its people are partially successful. Some residents understand and assess themselves and their city in relation to other gateway ports.[143] I became aware of this when one of my research participants, a man in his 60s who had strong connections to Antarctica through his profession as a sailor, accused me of being "a spy for Christchurch". He waved my protest away by insinuating that "[New Zealanders] want our Antarctic efficiency[144]." I encountered this sense of suspicion a few times during my stay in Ushuaia and heard about other instances where doubts were raised about other nations' intentions upon visiting the gateway port. A maritime agent I spoke to suggested that the Russian-owned ice breakers[145] that frequented the local harbour before new IAATO environmental regulations prohibited vessels

---

[141] Text in the original: "Ushuaia es ciudad que mira al Sur, como si vigilara la tierra antártica argentina, que se halla más allá del mar que nos separa de ella y a la que se llegan nuestros hombres, previa escala en el Puerto fueguino." (Canclini 1984:36)

[142] The term social imaginary is derived from Charles Taylor (2002) who, drawing on a concept originally formulated by sociologist C. Wright Mills, defines it as "the way ordinary people 'imagine' their social surroundings (…). [T]he social imaginary is that common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy." (Taylor 2002:106).

[143] I did not encounter this kind of assessment during my time in Punta Arenas. A Chilean historian and a Chilean economist both made mention of the receding importance of the port of Punta Arenas compared to the period before the inauguration of the Panama Canal in 1914, and suggested that because Ushuaia's port had "unquestioned leadership" in terms of Antarctic tourism activity, the importance of Antarctic tourism in the everyday lives of the residents of Punta Arenas paled in comparison (Luis and Eugenio, pers. comm. 2012).

[144] The word in the Spanish original quote is eficiencia. My research participant was referring to Ushuaia's capabilities as an Antarctic gateway port, judging them as higher than those of any other Antarctic gateway port. He based this mainly on Ushuaia's Antarctic tourism numbers.

[145] My research participant referred to the true icebreakers operating as cruise ships that are very limited in number. While most of the Russian vessels were running on light marine fuel already (Daniela Liggett, pers. comm. 2014), my research participant referred to those few that did not.

using heavy fuel were thought to be spy vessels by some residents. These anecdotes confirm that Ushuaia is perceived in terms of its function and international position as an Antarctic gateway port - at least by those parts of the population that nurture an awareness of it as intimately connected with Antarctica. Tellingly, all of the research participants that brought up Antarctica-related espionage, either in a tongue-in-cheek or serious manner, had a personal, work-related connection to Antarctica.

In this chapter, I explore the motivations for Ushuaian authorities to position and maintain Ushuaia as the world's most active touristic gateway port to Antarctica by briefly presenting historic and political undertakings that led to this status. I outline present-day efforts for extending and strengthening its role and discuss the difficulties and complications that are encountered in this enterprise. In doing so emerges the picture of stakeholders that are struggling to reconcile the differing perceptions and desires of Ushuaia's heterogeneous population with an overarching political agenda of shaping the city into a useful tool on the international Antarctic stage. Antarctic tourism and the push for a more pronounced positioning as the main Antarctic gateway port can be regarded as a soft power[146] within this agenda that has as its motivation the strengthening of Argentine sovereignty in regard to its Antarctic claim.

For this chapter, I draw mainly on information provided by those of my research participants who are affiliated with Antarctica and Antarctic tourism in either an administrative, employment, or business-related function (see Table 8.1). I also make use of observations and secondary sources such as newspapers and other publications.

**Table 8.1** Overview of principal research participants in Chapter 8

| | |
|---|---|
| **Antarctic institutions/ Maritime agencies** | Pilar – Director of the Antarctic Office, in her 40s, background in Tourism Administration<br>Josué – Maritime agent, in his 50s, foreign national<br>Segundo – Maritime agent, in his 30s |
| **Antarctic vessels: Crew** | Eloy – US-American Zodiac driver, in his 30s, employed by Antarctic tourism operator on an expedition vessel |
| **Antarctic vessels: Staff** | Johanna – Ushuaia-based expedition leader on an Antarctic vessel, in her late 40s |

[146] Soft power is here understood as "the ability to persuade through culture, values and ideas, as opposed to 'hard power', which conquers or coerces through military might." (Nye 2004)

| | |
|---|---|
| **Government administration** | Vicente – Director of Social Work department, Ushuaia, originally from Northern province, in his late 50s<br>Roberto – vice-president of the provincial port, in his 50s<br>Natalia – government employee at the port administration, in her 40s, originally from Mendoza<br>Esteban – Lawyer employed at the municipality, in his 30s, originally from Buenos Aires |
| **Tourism business** | Félix – freelance tourist guide in his late 20s from Mendoza, works in Ushuaia seasonally<br>Alonso – waiter in central café and night receptionist at B&B, migrated from Formosa in 2011. In his mid-20s |
| **Tourism institutions** | Daniel Leguizamón – Secretary of Tourism, in his 50s<br>Julio Lovece – former Secretary of Tourism, founder of an NGO concerned with tourism, culture and the environment, in his 60s<br>Guadalupe – Touristic planning department at InFueTur, in her 40s |
| **Other** | Dani – Dockworker in his mid-20s, recent migrant from Buenos Aires<br>Buscarolo – high-ranked officer in the Operations Centre of the Austral Navy in Ushuaia (Central de Operaciones del Área Naval Austral), in his 50s |

## Ushuaia as a gateway port

In this section, I trace developments in the national Antarctic agenda that stands behind Ushuaia's function as a gateway port. Bertram et al. (2007) define an Antarctic gateway port as a "coastal or island port, able by its proximity to the Antarctic to benefit from, and control access to, Antarctic and Southern Ocean resources, including fishing, tourism and scientific support" (2007:124). The minimum characteristics of a gateway port include the presence of "managers who maintain political and scientific interests in Antarctica; … good deep-water facilities for refuelling and re-provisioning ships; … an international airport close by; and … local infrastructure developed to facilitate exchanges of commodities and people" (ibd.). The infrastructure of a gateway port and the services provided include a variety of logistic functions. They range from maritime agents, harbour pilots, fuelling services, ship inspection services and stowage to security services, medical assistance and evacuation, technical and repair services, expedition staff, and cold storage facilities (Municipalidad de Ushuaia 2009).


**Figure 8.2** Signs indicating the distance from four gateway ports and the Malvinas to Antarctica (Photograph: A. Herbert).

There are five major Antarctic gateway ports worldwide, all (with the exception of South Africa) situated in state maintaining territorial claims over parts of Antarctica. The gateway ports have different strengths and characteristics (Table 8.2). Hobart (Australia) possesses an extensive port infrastructure, whereas Cape Town (South Africa) is a very active aerial gateway and hosts both national Antarctic programmes and adventure tourism. Christchurch/Lyttelton (New Zealand) is the logistics centre for most national programmes. Punta Arenas (Chile) hosts national programmes and gives tourism support, while Ushuaia (Argentina), geographically the closest to Antarctica (see Figure 8.2), is the most popular gateway port for Antarctic tourism but does not yet host national programmes (Roldan 2011).

**Table 8.2** Gateway cities comparison

| | Population[147] | Distance from Antarctica (in km)[148] | Year of Antarctic claim[149] | Antarctic infrastructure | Antarctic attractions | Antarctic tourism per season[150] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Ushuaia** | 56,800[151] | 1131 | 1940 | Deep-water port; Int. airport; CADIC | Antarctic Week; Antarctic Office | Approx. 90% of Antarctic tourism |
| **Punta Arenas** | 123,100 | 1371 | 1943 | Deep-water port; Int. airport with air-link to Antarctica (DAP); INACH | Antarctic walkway in city; Antarctic School Fair | Less than 5% of Antarctic tourism |
| **Hobart** | 211,600 | 2609 | 1923 | Deep-water port; Int. airport with air-link to Antarctica; Australian Antarctic headquarters[152] | Antarctic walkway in city; Museum; Antarctic Midwinter Festival | Less than 5% of Antarctic tourism |
| **Cape Town** | 3,740,000[153] | 3811 | Not a claimant | Deep-water port; Int. airport with air-link to Antarctica[154]; SANAP | Antarctic display cases in museum[155] | Less than 5% of Antarctic tourism |

[147] UNData 2011-13.

[148] Bertram et al. 2007:126.

[149] Dodds 2012b:52f.

[150] Bertram et al. 2007:136.

[151] INDEC 2010.

[152] Based in Kingston, Tasmania.

[153] City of Cape Town 2012.

[154] Antarctic Logistics Centre International 2014.

| | Population[147] | Distance from Antarctica (in km)[148] | Year of Antarctic claim[149] | Antarctic infrastructure | Antarctic attractions | Antarctic tourism per season[150] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Christchurch** | 375,900 | 2852 | 1923 | Deep-water port; Int. airport with air-link to Antarctica; COMNAP seat; Antarctica NZ; Gateway Antarctica; Antarctic Heritage Trust | Int. Antarctic Visitors Centre; Museum; Antarctic trail; IceFest | Less than 5% of Antarctic tourism |

Over time, Ushuaia served its function as a gateway port in varying degrees of intensity as the national outlook on Antarctic matters shifted. Many explorers accessed the polar region via the South African gateway port in Cape Town throughout the 18th century, so that the South American gateway ports became relevant only in the 19th century (Bertram et al. 2007). Ushuaia was first used as a gateway port in 1897 when Adrien de Gerlache called at the port with his Belgica expedition (Elzinga 2013:231). For several decades after this, Ushuaia's gateway function lay mainly dormant, as Argentine politics showed little interest in Antarctica (Dodds 1997:49). The Second World War revived territorial conflicts between Chile and Argentina and both states pursued their Antarctic aspirations with new vigour (Elzinga 2013:242; Howkins 2006).

Before the negotiation of the Antarctic Treaty in 1959, Argentine Antarctic politics focused entirely on sovereignty (Colacrai 2006:65), with Argentina continually expanding its claimed territory in Antarctica (Dodds 1997). Integrating part of Antarctica into Argentinian territory and the Argentine public's spatial conception of the Republic ('tri-continental Argentina') served a specific purpose. As a geopolitical move, it was hoped to boost Argentina's

[155] I am grateful to Dr Sydney Cullen and Dr John Cooper, who provided the following information on Antarctic attractions in Cape Town: "A couple of local museums have displays that refer to Antarctica and/or the sub-Antarctic islands of the Prince Edwards Islands but these do not extend much beyond a single display case and a model of the continent still under construction. Elsewhere there are a two or three plaques referring to links to the heroic age of Antarctic exploration. Our Antarctic ship has the odd open day directed to school children and the general public and has held mid-winter evening events aboard for invited guests (I have been to two). The government's Antarctic Directorate has a display area in a single room with a few historical items in it, but it is only open on ship-departure days." (Dr John Cooper, pers. comm. 21/01/2014)

status in the world economy and the international political system (Dodds 1997:52). It also has to be understood as a reaction to past territorial battles and losses with Great Britain and other South American nations, especially Chile (Dodds 1997:51ff). After the establishment of the Treaty, the sovereignty-centred focus opened up to eventually regard Argentina's Antarctic sector as one part of an internationally managed area. The Argentines began to expand their understanding of what purposes Antarctica could serve. The first touristic cruises to Antarctica took place in 1969 (Colacrai 2006:67). In the dictatorship period (1976-1983), the Argentines came to regard Antarctica as a potential source of hydrocarbons and other natural resources.[156] This led to a conflict-focused view on Antarctic matters among South American cone nations[157]. As a consequence, Argentine Antarctic politics remained ambiguous. While on the one hand, they adhered to the Treaty regime[158], on the other hand, Argentina developed a strong military presence in Antarctica (Colacrai 2006:68; Dodds 1997:55).

A new era began in 1984 after Argentina's return to democracy, as more complex and sophisticated science projects were funded and supporting Antarctic logistics became a focus in Argentina's Antarctic politics (Colacrai 2006:69f). The view shifted from focusing only on the claimed sector, managed by a military presence, to an international perspective in which Latin American cooperation in Antarctic matters was emphasised. The Combined Antarctic Naval Control, a maritime search and rescue operation covering the South Atlantic, saw Argentina work together with Chile. From the 1990s onwards, the topic of Antarctica had lost its tone of confrontation and potential conflict (Colacrai 2006:72).

---

[156] The exploitation of Antarctica's mineral (non-living) resources has been forbidden in what is known as the Madrid Protocol (Antarctic Treaty System 1991). There are contemporary tensions around the question whether to allow exploitation of the continent's natural (living) resources, i.e. bioprospecting (Jabour 2012), toothfish extraction (cf. Haward 2012), or Japanese whaling (Gales et al. 2005).

[157] The South American cone (cono sudamericano) is a geographical region that comprises of those nations in South America that are south of the Tropic of Capricorn, i.e. Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay and Brazil (Macmillan Dictionary 2013). These nations have Latin America's highest Human Development index (United Nations Development Programme 2013).

[158] The Antarctic Treaty, a document drawn up in 1959 in Washington, D.C. by representatives of the twelve nations that were active in Antarctica at that point (i.e. Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, the French Republic, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, the Union of South Africa, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America), declared Antarctica a demilitarized continent dedicated to peace and science (Antarctic Treaty System 1959).


**Figure 8.3** Poster created for the Argentine Antarctic Day on 22/02/2012. The text traces historic developments in Antarctica and highlights Argentina's continuous presence on the White Continent.

However, overall motivating factors behind Argentine Antarctic politics are inherently linked to territorial sovereignty. At a scientific symposium to commemorate a hundred years of Argentina's "permanent, uninterrupted presence in Antarctica" (see Figure 8.3) in 2004, Mario Colazo, the governor of Tierra del Fuego, emphasised that Argentines primarily associated Antarctica with sovereignty (Abruza 2006:15f). All political programmes were motivated and informed by the goal of strengthening Argentina's position in the international line-up of Antarctic claimants. Ushuaia's Secretary of Tourism, Daniel Leguizamón, highlighted that with the worldwide first permanent Antarctic base and the first icebreaker, Argentina professes itself to be the first nation[159] worldwide that possessed the actual tools to claim sovereignty over

[159] Note that the first to register their territorial claim was Great Britain in 1908. Argentina's claim was registered in 1940 (Dodds 2012b:51ff).

Antarctic territory (2006:254)[160]. Other than the Argentine politician and ambassador Roberto Guyer (in Abruza 2006) who justified Argentina's claim on Antarctica more through geographical presence than through other national Antarctic achievements[161], Leguizamón emphasized the need for diplomacy and provincial initiative. He argued that Argentine sovereignty cannot be kept through military presence as was currently the focus, but needed to be based on a strong diplomatic positioning. In his opinion,

> "it is clear that what really helps the state, and to what Tierra del Fuego has to actively contribute through intelligent attitudes and actions, is to generate prestige, predicaments, respectability, influence and leadership with the goal of showing up at the defining instances in the best negotiating position possible." (Leguizamón 2006:256)

The current national Antarctic politics would be disadvantageous for Argentina if Antarctic claims were to be re-distributed, Leguizamón cautioned, as the nation held on to a pre-1959 scenario (2006:256f; cf. Memolli 2006:154; Bertotto 2005:23). Unlike the Antarctic scientist and politician Alejandro Bertotto, who mentioned the need to modify the existing international Antarctic law, i.e. the Treaty, to one that "recognizes Argentine Antarctic history" (2005:24)[162], Leguizamón held the view that a modern and realistic perspective on Antarctica adhered to the guidelines the Antarctic Treaty poses on its claimant nations. The need for environmental protection of the Antarctic continent plays a central role in this approach (Leguizamón 2006:258), which was why Leguizamón called for a greater local involvement in waste management for Antarctic ships (2006:293; cf. Daverio et al. 2005) and a greater local awareness

---

[160] In the according quotation, Leguizamón states the following: "By the argumentative power of having had the first scientific base occupied permanently and uninterruptedly and of having had the first icebreaker operating in austral polar waters, it is highly significant to note that Argentina does not base its [Antarctic] rights on merely symbolic acts, like having done 'the first' overflight, or having 'planted a flag' in this or that place, but rather that [Argentina] was able to practise the most important and decisive [aspect] of the concept of sovereignty, which is precisely the capacity to claim sovereignty (soberanizar) over claimed territory." (Leguizamón 2006:254, translation mine.)

[161] Guyer argued as follows: "I believe that Argentina is obliged, as a state from the southern hemisphere, to be in the southern hemisphere in both margins of the Drake Strait (…). I'd say, let's not ask dogmatic questions about a fact that is undisputed: We need to be in both margins because geography has put us where we are." (Abruza 2006:282, translation mine. Also see Dodds 1997:50f).

[162] "Recognizing Argentine Antarctic history", in this context and according to Bertotto, suggests that Argentina has had extensive Antarctic exposure, achievements, and a long-standing involvement in Antarctic exploration, and insinuates that the nation-state has therefore earned the right to have its sovereignty claim considered above those of other nations whose Antarctic involvement started at a later stage.

of environmental issues affecting Antarctica. It is along these lines that the institutional support of more local Antarctica-related infrastructure has to be understood, as I outline in the following sections.

The first step to increasing international Antarctica-related competitiveness and strengthening the national grip on Argentina's Antarctic claim was the need to form a local consciousness for Antarctic matters in general and Ushuaia's role as an Antarctic gateway in particular (Portela 2006; Colazo 2006; Leguizamón 2006). Memolli, a former Argentine chief of base in Antarctica, equally called for a national outlook on Antarctic politics that featured science to a higher degree. In order to position younger personnel in currently rapidly aging Antarctic positions, a national educational system needed to be installed that catered to this demand and would train future workers for Antarctica-related political, scientific and administrative positions (2006:153f; Leguizamón 2006:259).

Antarctica and Antarctic tourism were portrayed as important not only on the national level, but also on a provincial and local scale. Antarctic business was perceived as important for local development (Bertotto 2005:23, also see Nacionales 2006). A strengthened logistics sector can be very beneficial economically, as Leguizamón highlighted, drawing on numbers for both Christchurch and Hobart. In Christchurch, the Antarctic logistics sector produced elevated levels of revenue and employment (cf. Saunders et al. 2007), while in Hobart, nearly half of the items requested by Antarctica-bound tourist vessels were supplied from local production (Leguizamón 2006:261). Many of my research participants who worked in Antarctica-affiliated institutions emphasised that the city needed a better Antarctica-related infrastructure for the harbour and the city, as well as supply facilities and workshops (talleres) to fix incoming vessels. This would make Ushuaia more attractive for ship operators and would also take the need away to "sail a broken ship thousands of kilometres" to Punta Arenas in order to get it fixed (Buscarolo, pers. comm. 2012). Ushuaia's position as the most active touristic gateway to Antarctica is not threatened in the short term by any other competitive ports. However, conscious of the strong competition with the Argentine gateway port and in an effort to counteract decreasing tourism numbers, Punta Arenas has started to increase its Antarctic profile by implementing an Antarctic

Circuit[163] in the city, a new ferry terminal and rebates in fees (Elzinga 2013:243, and MercoPress 2004, 2011). Having lost a third of its cruise traffic within a few years, tourism operators and Punta Arenas port authorities plan to rebate their port fees and give a boost to tourism by, for example, allowing floating casinos to anchor in the city's harbour (MercoPress 2011).

While Antarctic politics are driven from a national level, many of the Ushuaian Antarctic workers that I spoke with feel that the contributions the province of Tierra del Fuego could make go unnoticed. Tierra del Fuego should spearhead the geopolitical strategy for the overall South American Antarctic engagement, Leguizamón (2006:263) proposed, insinuating elsewhere that Buenos Aires politicians have less insight into and understanding of Antarctic matters than provincial Antarctic workers and politicians (Leguizamón 2006:250). The de-prioritising of Antarctic matters over other, more directly pressing provincial tasks such as Public Works, Tourism and Environment, slowed down the development of a local Antarctic agenda (Madoni 2006:247). Employees affiliated with Antarctic institutions in Ushuaia work to counteract what many of them perceive as a local lack of emotional and actual investment in Antarctic matters.

As I outline in the following section, Ushuaia's Antarctic and tourism authorities attempt to strengthen Ushuaia's position as a gateway port by improving its logistic infrastructure and securing a bigger portion of what at present, in South America, remains the domain of Punta Arenas, namely Antarctic logistics and supplying. This can be seen as a continuation of Argentine-Chilean boundary competition[164] both in South America and Antarctica and the attempt to secure access to the Beagle Channel (Bertram et al 2007:130; cf. Elzinga 2013:252). Plans for improving the local Antarctic tourism-related infrastructure and bringing Antarctic

[163] This is a sign-guided walk through town, including buildings, structures, and places that are (historically and currently) affiliated with Antarctica.

[164] In my interactions with both Argentine and Chilean employees of Antarctic and touristic institutions, this competition was never acknowledged as such. Instead, an employee at the INACH in Punta Arenas emphasised the binational cooperation in patrolling South Atlantic and Antarctic waters (Patrulla Antártica Naval Combinada, PANC), while an employee at DAP pointed to combined ship and flight Antarctic trips that operated from both Ushuaia and Punta Arenas. While a tourism employee in Ushuaia lamented that a more immediate touristic cooperation between Chile and Argentina in the form of combined touristic packages and routes is still lacking, interview partners were generally hard-pressed to refer to a sense of rivalry between touristic institutions or residents in Ushuaia and Punta Arenas. In informal conversations with residents in both cities, however, this presentation changed, and a sense of rivalry or, in some cases, open disdain against the other nation was expressed more freely. The media confirm this competition (see MercoPress 2011; MercoPress 2004).

matters to the foreground of local consciousness have to be seen as part of the soft power strategy that local Antarctic and tourism authorities are employing. These strategies, intended to influence and alter the local population's sense of place, highlight the controversial socio-cultural and socio-economic forces at play in Ushuaia.

## Antarctic aspirations: The Antarctic Polar Station (EPA)

In this section, I display the efforts employed by Ushuaian Antarctic and tourism authorities in trying to strengthen Ushuaia's position on the international Antarctic stage. The strategy of using science and tourism as a means to justify its position and establish itself as a major Antarctic actor manifests in an ambitious project: the International Antarctic Area (Area Antártica Internacional, AAI). Part of this is the planned Antarctic Polar Station (Estación Polar Antártica, EPA) in Ushuaia, instigated through the Ministry of Tourism and developed by the Secretariat of Tourism in 1993. Plans for the EPA, an Antarctica-themed park, include a multi-sensory auditorium, exposition halls, a library, and various commercial businesses (Leguizamón, pers. comm. 2012). The local debate that surrounds this project is indicative of broader issues concerning the differing local readings of place and the varying understandings and weightings of Antarctica and Antarctic tourism in relationship to Ushuaia.

The AAI forms part of a bigger renewal and extension of Antarctic infrastructure. As a separate project, a new pier and supply and repair centre for Antarctic vessels (Polo Antártico, from here on Polo) is planned. The new pier would separate the commercial and touristic use of the port, reserving its use exclusively for the Navy for all Antarctica related matters, without any passenger ships, cargo vessels, or fishing boats passing through. Anselmo, a Navy officer, told me that the naval base might have to be relocated because of the intended construction of the pier and the Polo. The Polo would have material deposits and workshops directly connected with the international airport and the planned new pier, speeding up operations. The existing naval base (an independent construction separate from the provincial port) lacked access to sufficient water depth and more space to host Navy-operated Antarctic vessels, as until now only small patrol boats can use the navy port. The relocation of the Base would be good for the city as well, as Anselmo remarked, because it would free up space for much-needed housing.

The acting commander of the navy base, Admiral Graf, suggested in a speech in early 2012 that the implementation of the new pier would have a "transcendental impact" on local urban development and would also satisfy the "national projection toward

Antarctica[165]"(29/02/2012). There was unanimous support for the plan to extend Ushuaia's Antarctic logistics capabilities among those of my research participants who were professionally connected with Antarctica.

By stimulating an increased academic engagement with Antarctic topics in Ushuaia, raising local awareness on environmental issues in Antarctica, and attracting Antarctic visitors, the EPA is intended to form an alternative to the current, predominantly military-driven, National Antarctic Programme (NAP). It was modelled upon what Daniel Leguizamón, the Secretary of Tourism, deemed "the most advanced Antarctic programme, that of New Zealand" (pers. comm. 2012). However, these ambitions had to be put on hold when in 1995, military Captain Alejandro Bertotto became head of the Provincial Antarctic Management division (Dirección de la Antártida de la Provincia). Bertotto dismissed the plans for the IAA and replaced the project with the Polo (Leguizamón, pers. comm. 2014). This was a development that Daniel believed to be typical of Ushuaia. But Bertotto's priorities were supported by Leguizamón's predecessor as Secretary of Tourism, Julio Lovece, who believes that the local benefits from Antarctic tourism will be much bigger if ship repair work and supply can be conducted in Ushuaia. He strongly supports the plan to establish a bigger, more efficient Antarctic pier and supply/repair base near the city because "everything connected with [Antarctic] infrastructure needs to be installed in the southernmost city" (Lovece 2011c). In his opinion, the installation of a supply and repair base had to take greater priority over the construction of the EPA. Eventually, a new funding source for the EPA was found in a private investor, giving weight to the argument that many of the Antarctic workers amongst my research participants made: "Antarctica is deprioritised in Ushuaia… the [provincial] government doesn't care about the topic" (Luz, pers. comm. 2012).

The EPA is in line with the concept of making Ushuaia a complimentary destination to Antarctica, a term introduced by Vereda and Mosti (2005; Vereda 2008; cf. Chapter 7), two local social scientists promoting Ushuaia as "more than just a door through which people circulate to Antarctica" (Vereda, pers. comm. 2012). This aim is fuelled by the local debate amongst tourism stakeholders, i.e. business owners, accommodation providers, and tourism agencies, that often

[165] Presumably, this alludes to Argentina's aspirations to strengthen its Antarctic foothold by becoming more grounded and influential in Antarctic science, logistics, and politics.

singles out cruise ship tourism and Antarctic tourism as the least profitable forms of tourism. Using Antarctica's attraction and channelling it into local tourism is hoped to counteract this assessment. Guadalupe, a representative of the Fueguian Institute for Tourism (InFueTur), believed that the local touristic sights should be aimed more specifically at Antarctic tourists. This would make Ushuaia a more integral part of the Antarctic tourism experience instead of merely a means for tourists to get to Antarctica. At present, Antarctic tourists

> "see the same sights that a tourist who travels through Patagonia sees. What's missing are products associated with Antarctica." (Guadalupe, pers. comm. 2012)

While other Antarctic gateway cities have a more elaborate Antarctic touristic infrastructure, Daniel lamented that

> "Ushuaia is the closest gateway port to Antarctica, and yet there's nothing here. There's an Antarctic Office, a hotel that's named after Antarctica, a street that's named after Antarctica, and nothing else."

The EPA was also meant to raise local and touristic environmental consciousness with regard to Antarctic matters by giving residents access to Antarctic information and education, and emphasising the importance of protecting Antarctica's fragile ecosystem. The hope behind this was to solidify Argentina's position as an Antarctic nation complying with the Treaty. On the local level, the shaping of Ushuaia as a complimentary destination for Antarctic tourists would also result in prolonged stays and more revenue generated from Antarctic tourism. According to Vereda (2005), the prospects for this are positive as tourists have signalled their interest in an Antarctic Centre in Ushuaia.

However, the proposed project has been met with significant resistance in the form of protests and rallies from parts of the population and has been postponed several times.

Resistance was linked with the planned location of the EPA in the Bahía Encerrada[166], a natural urban reserve at the bay near the city centre (Figure 8.4). In my interactions with the local population, it soon became clear that those who were most strongly opposed to the location of the EPA were frequently landholders who identified as NyC or amenity-driven[167] VyQ. To my knowledge, economic migrants, including informal settlers and locals who considered themselves temporary residents only, neither opposed the plans nor expressed strong opinions on the topic in general. The prominent location for the EPA was chosen partly because, as Daniel explained, the idea was to make the building immediately visible for both arriving tourists and locals: "We wanted Antarctica to have an important icon [in the city]."

[166] The Bahía was declared a natural urban reserve in 2008 by the debating council of Ushuaia (Concejo Deliberante de Ushuaia). The objectives of this project were described as "the long-term protection and restoration of landscape, flora, fauna, soil, and water table of Bahía Encerrada, so that it can maintain its natural characteristics and landscape attraction (atractivos paisajísticos)" (López 2008). The reserve was described by one of its supporters as important because it "protects an area of important recreational, cultural, and environmental educational values" (López 2008). In 2012, several of my research participants made me aware of unfiltered and untreated sewage being pumped directly into the lake, pointing out the pipes, approximately two metres away from the paved road, from which the sewage flowed. In an online newspaper, a local activist called the Bahía "an open-air drain" (Worman 2012) and accused the municipality of inactivity and inertia regarding the extension of the existing sewage treatment plant which at the time being was unable to process the quantities of sewage produced in the city.

[167] The term amenity here is derived from Moss (2006) and refers to those migrants who came to or stayed in Ushuaia mainly for lifestyle reasons, which are closely related to an appreciation of the natural environment.


**Figure 8.4** Map of Ushuaia, Bahía Encerrada marked in red (Source adapted from: Mappery, n.d.).

Protesters have, in newspaper opinion articles and on the internet, emphasised their general support of the project (Lovece 2011c; Colegio de Arquitectos 2011) but maintain that the proposed location for the EPA is incompatible with the objective the reserve fulfils. The Bahia Encerrada has the aim of protecting local biodiversity and is used for bird-watching, environmental education and recreational purposes both by local residents and tourists (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2011k). The local protestors opposed to the further reduction of public space point to past industrial developments that have greatly decreased publicly accessible space. Lovece, founder of an environmental NGO, argues that Ushuaians are in the midst of a boom that was partially welcome as it entails more work and better wages, but fears it will lead to “urban, environmental and social collapse” (Lovece, pers. comm. 2012). He maintains that Ushuaia is not prepared for another population explosion similar to the demographic development in the 1970s. Ushuaians needed to take care of the public spaces that remain (Lovece 2011b; Lovece 2011c). Representatives of the local university have reinforced the notion that the coast, as part of the natural environment, should be used for its aesthetic qualities only (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2011l).

The construction of the EPA in the Bahia was also rejected because its aesthetics were deemed inappropriate for the coastal profile of the city (Ushuaia Patrimonio 2011b) and the

municipal heritage (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2011k). The building was perceived as too big, and accusations were voiced that it was "denaturalising the landscape" (Lovece 2011c). Lovece believed that the bay was meant to be undisturbed, and explained that a bigger, more imposing building did not equal its conveyed importance:

> "Sometimes, buildings are important when they go unnoticed; when the landscape [that surrounds them] remains the most important thing." (Lovece, pers. comm. 2012)

He emphasised the importance of landscape-linked patrimony, history, culture, and identity over economic investment (see Chapter 4). His perception brings to the foreground the contested nature of Ushuaian society in relation to landscape and placemaking. While one faction perceives Ushuaia from a primarily economic (and in this instance, Antarctic tourism-affiliated) perspective, another faction focuses on landscape and an image of tranquil, almost undisturbed surroundings.

After having been on stand-by because of the local conflicts around its construction, at the time of my field research in 2012, the EPA project was planned to be executed on an area of 1.5 hectares near the Southern Centre for Scientific Research (Centro Austral de Investigaciones Científicas, CADIC) (see circled area in Figure 8.4). The CADIC would be permanently involved in EPA by receiving a cut from all revenues generated and by employing staff in part-time positions in the Centre (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2013b). In early 2014, short before the completion of this thesis, a decision was still pending (Leguizamón, pers. comm. 2014).

Leguizamón lamented the opposition the project had encountered from the population. He waved aside the arguments that protested against the EPA dominating the landscape by the bay, and pointed to the reserve as a place that should remain untouched. In his perception, the main motivation for a rejection of the EPA was a general lack of interest in Antarctica and a misconception of Antarctica's importance for the region:

> "If it were a soccer stadium instead, everybody would have said yes. Or if it had been any other topic… but with an Antarctic topic – no. Like I told you, the attitude of the people towards Antarctica is minus ten here. All of the population [is] against it. Even the Tourism Chamber [is] against it."

Daniel's comment touches on the conflict that underpins much of the interactions and differing perceptions of Ushuaian society. On the one hand, there are parts of the tourism and political sectors, regarding the local landscape from a mainly economic perspective and acting on the underlying agenda of strengthening Ushuaia's (and Argentina's) Antarctic profile. These

sectors are faced with resistance from those parts of society, often NyC and established VyQ, that oppose the radical alterations to landscape and the ensuing commodification. They protest against a more pronounced touristic orientation that gears towards the needs of visitors, as they fear it is detrimental to their own, landscape-affine interests and quality of life.

Daniel considered the EPA as a way to enthuse inhabitants about Antarctica and believed it would bring about better results than any other strategic measures undertaken to achieve similar goals, including the Antarctic Week. The annual Antarctic Week was first initiated in 2007 by public and private organizations, associations, scientific and academic institutions, NGOs and community members (Municipalidad de Ushuaia 2009). Its goal was to create a greater sense of identity, belonging and knowledge about Antarctica (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2007c). Despite extensive efforts with the project, Daniel deemed public interest and results to be

> "very frustrating. The people don't respond. There were spectacular conferences, and people really don't care about it. (...) The majority of people here don't have a clue about Antarctia. Nothing, nothing... only that there are penguins and a lot of ice, nothing else. "

To recap, the EPA is considered to be a means to change people's disposition towards Antarctica and increase the tourism Antarctica-related infrastructure in the city. This is done with an increase of Argentina's soft power on the international stage of Antarctic politics in mind. As the developments around the EPA show, there has however been significant public resistance to civic endeavours that promote Antarctica, as they are perceived as aesthetically inappropriate by parts of the population. In the next section, I outline complications afflicting the intention of increasing Antarctica-related infrastructure in the city that could potentially compromise Ushuaia's reputation as an efficient Antarctic gateway port.

## Complications: The Gaucho Rivero Act

Being a claimant state, as Klaus Dodds puts it, "is an expensive and time consuming business" (2011:232). Antarctic sovereignty must be performed, constituted and reconstituted. However, there are stumbling blocks, both on the local and the provincial level. As shown in previous sections, measures intended to raise Ushuaia's (and with that, Argentina's) Antarctic profile meet with resistance from those parts of Ushuaian society who see their needs, preferences, or readings of place compromised. Moreover, local Antarctic and tourism authorities expressed their dissatisfaction with the perceived lack of support for a stronger institutionalised education

about Antarctica, its importance for the nation-state, and Ushuaia's strategic position in this matter. While Antarctica, from a geopolitical and territorial perspective, plays a central role in Argentina's nationalist projections, I witnessed political developments in Ushuaia that seemed to interfere with the overarching goal of demonstrating good stewardship in the city's function as an Antarctic gateway port. In this section, I explore a socio-political incident that ostensibly aimed at strengthening Argentine national identity through the reaffirmation of territorial claims, but simultaneously damaged Ushuaia's reputation as an Antarctic tourism facilitator.

On February 28th, 2012, just four weeks before the 30 year anniversary of the Malvinas/Falklands[168] conflict, an incident occurred in Ushuaia that caused heated discussions in the city about provincial autonomy, the local political influence of Malvinas veterans, and the role and limits of Ushuaia's function as a gateway port. The Star Princess, an American-owned cruise ship of approximately 2,500 passengers sailing under Bermudan flag[169], was denied access to Ushuaia's harbour and was consequently turned away alongside another cruise ship, El Adonia, with approximately 700 passengers on board. Segundo, the maritime agent servicing the Star Princess, contacted the captain and informed him of the outcome in the early hours of February 28th. He recounted that the captain "reacted more or less like he had already expected a situation like this" (pers. comm. 2012), indicating that Argentina had acquired a reputation of being prone to provocative political behaviour. The incident was preceded by a number of related occurrences. In January, newspapers reported that the Star Princess, carrying a high number of Argentines among its passengers, was turned away from the Falklands/Malvinas port. The "illegal government of the Malvinas islands" (Prensa 2012c) refused entry to the tourist vessel because of twenty cases of gastroenteritis on board. This was interpreted differently by some Argentines who believed it to be because of the ship's provenance from Ushuaia. The local press quoted an Argentine psychologist who portrayed these incidents as part of a British retaliation process in response to the November 2010 decision of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) to block the entry of ships sailing under the Falklands/Malvinas flag (Prensa 2012c). This measure had been taken after British oil production companies reported in 2010 that commercially viable amounts of oil and gas had been found in the South Atlantic basin near

[168] Throughout my thesis I use the locally employed term for the contested islands, Malvinas, to emphasise the setting my research is located in.

[169] Bermuda is a Crown dependency of Great Britain's.

the Malvinas and had subsequently set up an oil rig (Benwell and Dodds 2011:444; Dodds 2012a:686). Argentina strongly opposed this as an act of intrusion and provocation.

The already tense situation was further fuelled by the approaching 30 year anniversary of the Malvinas conflict on April 2nd, 2012. From January on, the atmosphere in Ushuaia was teeming with opinions around the Falklands/Malvinas question. On January 30th, representatives of the Union of Argentine dock workers, SUPAAS (Sindicato Unido de Portuarios Argentinos del Atlántico Sur), installed a nearly seven metre long hard plastic sign outside the port that showed a crossed-out Union Jack and read, "Docking Forbidden for English Pirate Ships" (Figure 8.5)[170], which turned into a popular photo opportunity for national and foreign tourists.


**Figure 8.5** Anti-English sign at Ushuaia's port, reading "Docking Forbidden for English Pirate Ships" (Photograph: A. Herbert).

These developments peaked when the Star Princess was turned away from the Ushuaian port on February 28th 2012. The provincial governor, Fabiana de Ríos, based the decision on a provincial law that had been sanctioned in Tierra del Fuego on August 25th, 2011 and promulgated shortly afterwards on September 14th, 2011 (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2012f).

[170] Strictly speaking, this should read "Anti-British".

Provincial Law 852, commonly referred to as Gaucho Rivero Act[171], prohibits the staying, docking, supplying, and servicing of British military vessels and ships under the British flag or a flag of convenience linked to the Commonwealth pursuing tasks related to the exploration or exploitation of natural resources in the Malvinas basin (Legislatura de Tierra del Fuego, n.d.).

The controversy that polarized parts of the Ushuaian community was rooted in the fact that for the first time, and in a seemingly hastened manner, the pursuit of tourist activities was seen as utilising natural resources (a term usually reserved for activities such as oil production) and with this, fell under the law.[172] Councilwoman María Colazo from neighbouring Río Grande justified the decision by explaining that

> "[t]he exploitation of tourism with ships under the flag of the United Kingdom and its colonies is another form of looting that the British empire exercises on the riches and resources of the Malvinas basin." (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2012f, translation mine)

The vice-governor, Roberto Crocianelli, confirmed this shortly afterwards.[173] Another point of controversy was the definition of the ships as sailing under British flags (both vessels flew the Bermudan flag). First, the use of flags of convenience[174] for commercial and tourist

---

[171] Antonio Rivero was an Argentine herder (gaucho) who was sent to work in the Malvinas, where he came to lead a rebellion against the British in 1833 (Sandoz 2012).

[172] The contradictory nature of this decision was pointed out by one of my research participants who questioned the government's acceptance of the owners of Harberton, the retirement residency of the first Ushuaian missionary, Thomas Bridges. The British couple, the husband a descendant of Bridges, maintained the farm as a tourist attraction. Mora mused that "[t]hey're Englishmen. He barely speaks Spanish. When you see them you realize that this is a person who has spoken English all his life. So, what are you [governor] talking to me about? Why don't you take that land away from them? They are allowed to exploit the terrain – that's exploitation, too!"

Similarly, Lovece (2012) pointed out that in other parts of Argentina, British-owned companies were allowed to extract natural resources without obstruction, at great expense to the natural environment.

Finally, the author of the Gaucho Rivero Act, Miguel Montoya, clarified that the law was designed to "affect only those vessels that are dedicated to the exploitation of hydrocarbons" (Prensa, 07/03/2012b:14)

[173] "What the government has considered is that the natural resources are linked to tourism" (Tiempo fueguino 2012h, translation mine).

[174] Sailing under a flag of convenience means that a vessel is registered in and uses the national flag of a state different from the state of the ship's owners in order to save on operating costs. In Antarctic waters,

vessels is the norm in South Atlantic waters (ATCM XXXIV 2011:9). Second, the national origin of the ships was at least debatable. While chartered by Princess Cruises in Southampton, UK, the operator of the Star Princess was based in the USA. Third, other ships falling under the now-banned description had entered the port since the promulgation of the Law, including the Star Princess on multiple occasions throughout the previous month with her last docking in Ushuaia on February 9th (Tiempo fueguino 2012d).

One of the first official communications that went out to the public set the tone for the ensuing community-wide discourse. The topic was generally treated with emotions that lay close to the surface, as the tone of Colazo's email to the press demonstrated[175]:

> "This morning, we realized an act of repudiation to the entry of two English pirate ships and did not let them enter the port of Ushuaia. The withdrawal began immediately and they fled like dogs." (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2012f)

The controversy that unfolded in meetings between stakeholders, among politicians and the public over the next month dominated the media until the Malvinas conflict anniversary passed. It was a good time to be an anthropologist interested in Antarctic matters in Ushuaia, as many of my research participants offered detailed and engaged opinions and renderings of events. Strolling down the main street or reading the paper in a central café, I was able to overhear people heatedly discussing the advantages of "making a clear political statement" or "disrupting [touristic] business". In full view of the remaining docked cruise ships in the harbour, the debate gathered heat as shopkeepers and café owners complained about lost income, and veterans or sympathisers with the Malvinas cause argued for "justified sacrifices in a greater cause". The local debate around the Gaucho Rivero incident involved three main camps, namely politicians, war veterans, and tourism representatives. The government was rumoured to have been heavily pressured by war veterans in their decision making (Navy official, pers. comm. 29/02/2012; Prensa 2012e; cf. Benwell and Dodds 2011:443). The tourism sector reacted bitterly to the embargo, and many representatives felt that the provincial government did not value the

---

the motivations include avoiding the regulations that apply to the owners' home states when they are members of the Antarctic Treaty.

[175] Also see Adrián Liendo, a legislator who argued that the Law should be even less permissive by denying British citizens entry to Argentina altogether: "No Argentine will die when the pirates don't come to spend a few pesos here anymore" (Prensa 2012h). This statement simultaneously hints at the perceived low economic revenue generated by cruise ship tourism in comparison to other types of tourism (see Chapter 5).

sector's economic importance for the community (Lovece 2012; Prensa 2012d; El diario del Fin del Mundo 2012g). They accused the government of giving more weight to the subsidized manufacturing industry than to "a genuine industry"[176] like the tourism sector (Gargiulo et al. 2012). The question was voiced of whether the government's decision would have been different had the vessel been a British-flagged cargo ship with supplies for the manufacturing industry (Lovece 2012; Gargiulo et al. 2012). Lovece argued that tourism had many obstacles to overcome and not many supporters in Ushuaia, and alleged that it served as "the first sacrifice in the rediscovery of sovereignty" (2012:2).

A further point of discontent was the disregard the tourism sector was shown by government authorities in the decision making process (cf. Lovece 2012; Prensa 2012f; Prensa 2012g; Tiempo fueguino 2012e; Tiempo fueguino 2012f; Tiempo fueguino 2012g). Segundo, the maritime agent servicing one of the ships, recounted that the decision to apply the Gaucho Rivero Act to the incoming vessels was made just hours before the ships were due to arrive. Government representatives, members of the War Veterans' guild, and port authorities had met the night before to discuss the situation, of which Segundo had been informed at 11 pm. At 4 am, the decision was made to deny the ship entry, but as the tourism parties involved had not been informed ahead of time, all services had been readied for the arrival of the passengers:

> "There were thirty buses, with thirty drivers, thirty guides, catamaran staff, gastronomic services in the [winter centre] valleys, the city, prepared for the people." (Gargiulo et al. 2012)

Félix, a tourist guide employed by one of the affected tourism agencies told me that they had around a hundred passengers from the Star Princess signed up for trekking on the day the embargo was imposed. While the tourists were booked in for 12 pm, the company representatives who had been waiting at the port to pick up the passengers were told about the embargo at 3 pm, several hours after their customers should have arrived. Félix recounted how his superiors and the colleagues directly booked as tour guides for the day in question oscillated between incredulity and outrage at what they perceived as inconsiderate and unsupportive behaviour on part of the governmental decision-makers. The socio-political developments that followed, the various fast-paced opinions expressed in the local press, and the perceptions that

[176] This comment picks up on the local discourse of being a 'maintained', subsidised community that is kept alive outside of market conditions (see van Aert 2004).

different tourism workers shared with me were evidence of an involuntary positioning of the tourism sector (the only sector that suffered a tangible economic loss) against other sectors in the city.

The resulting overall loss for the tourism sector, estimated at around US$ 500,000 (Tiempo fueguino 2012h) reflected only the immediate revenues and did not take into account the long-term consequences for tourism-afflicted businesses. Those affected included transport providers, restaurants and cafés, local tourism operators, and other tourism-affiliated businesses and entities such as the National Park, museums, and tourist winter centres (centros invernales). Representatives of the regional government[177] not only downplayed the economic loss, but simultaneously accused the tourism sector of being unpatriotic for bringing their economic losses up in the first place. The provincial Secretary of Human Rights, Nélida Belous, accused the sector of valuing a "transitory, egotistical economic interest over sovereignty" (Prensa 2012i). A representative of the War Veterans guild added to the portrayal of the tourism sector as unpatriotic and profit-focused by suggesting that

> "those who earn least[178] with the tourists, the dockworkers, those who eat by loading [the ships], were those who said they won't load [the Star Princess and El Adonia], because the fatherland is more important." (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2012f, translation mine)

In a climate of heightened nationalism as was the case in Ushuaia around the time of the anniversary of the Malvinas conflict, any kind of critical dissent with nationalist political decisions is hard to express without being (mis)understood as disloyal to the nation (cf. Butler 2006:1-2). The pitching of the tourism sector against other, patriotic residents manoeuvred those arguing in favour of tourism into a position where they had to declare their patriotism before they made any argument against the government's line of action (see Gargiulo et al. 2012). The embargo brought to light some of the vulnerabilities of the tourism sector. The

---

[177] Roberto Crocianelli, provincial vice-governor, said that "[w]e either prioritise the sovereignty question or the economic interests of one or two businesses" (Prensa 2012j).

[178] This judgement is at the very least questionable. One of my research participants, a dockworker employed by Las Orcas, earned ARG$ 180 (approximately US$ 30) per docking. In his first month of work, with several dockings per day, he earned approximately ARG$ 25,000 (approximately US$ 4,400). Stevedores and other dockworkers benefited from several significant pay rises over the last few years that their Union had negotiated from the government (cf. El diario del Fin del Mundo 2009).

independent tourism workers, considered in neither the government's nor the war veterans' positions, were directly affected by the ban on the two scheduled vessels. Freelance workers, meaning those employees who get hired on a seasonal basis, lost their day's income (cf. Gargiulo 2012). The situation was less dire for contracted employees for whom the loss of clients just translated to "a day less to work" (Félix, fixed-contract tourism guide, pers. comm. 2012). Similarly, Alonso, a man from Formosa who worked a day-job in a busy central café, gleefully reported a less frantic day as he had to serve fewer customers during the usual "cruise ship rush hour" between 1 and 4pm.


**Figure 8.6** Electronic sign reading "The Argentine people say no to the landing of English ships in our ports" on Ushuaia's waterfront on 08/03/2012 (Photograph: A. Herbert).

Speaking on behalf of contracted food services workers, the Gastronomists' Association signalled their approval of the Gaucho Rivero Act decision. A representative agreed with the veterans' and government's conviction that economic losses were outweighed by the sovereignty cause. At the same time, the representative wondered out loud where the alleged US$ 500,000 went

> "because surely it doesn't go to the workers. Must be three or four businessmen." (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2012h)

With this, he drew the attention to tourism wages that had not increased in the past decade unlike other subsidised sectors and governmental positions (see Chapter 5.2). Incidents like the

Malvinas-related occurrences on February 28th would have less of an impact on tourism workers if their wages were higher and they did not depend on tips that in turn were dependent on tourism numbers (ibid). Representatives of the tourism sector feared the consequences the incident would have on Ushuaia's image as a tourist destination (cf. Prensa 2012k; Prensa 2012l). Guadalupe, an employee in a leading position at the department for Tourism Planning and Development at InFueTur, believed that the incident meant "a hard hit" for tourism, taking into consideration the volatility of the Antarctic tourism market that depends largely on international actors. Julio Lovece, ex-Secretary of Tourism, emphasised the importance of remaining "an amicable tourist destination" in which the English or any other visitors were welcome and treated kindly, which would aid the Malvinas cause. A local legislator stated that he preferred for the tourists to leave with printed information about Argentina's position on the Malvinas issue rather than to alienate them altogether (Prensa 2012l). Speaking from his position as both a former Secretary of Tourism and the founder of a pro-environmental NGO, Julio suggested that

> "I think that the Argentines, the Fueguinos, are entering a very dangerous terrain with this mentality, because the worst that can happen to Ushuaia is that it becomes categorized as a hostile destination. And that does help neither the promotion, nor the destination image, and obviously that may help the development of other, alternative destinations, like Punta Arenas[179], or even the Malvinas."

Especially those research participants that held jobs directly affected by the incident expressed their concern over possible long-term consequences. Josué, an employee at a maritime agency, suggested that it was likely that following this incident, vessels sailing under British flags of convenience and flags of Commonwealth nations as well as ships with predominantly English-speaking staff would be equated with Britain by "the loudest [Argentines] who make themselves heard first" (pers. comm. 2012). These developments were likely to negatively influence trade for Ushuaia's port (see Figures 8.6 and 8.7 for examples of strategically placed public anti-British expressions in the city centre and by the port).

Tourism sector representatives pointed out that due to the cruise industry's booking system (bookings are made a year in advance), repercussions on Ushuaia would be visible only over a longer period of time. Nevertheless, there were immediate consequences in a couple of

[179] When I asked Juan, an official employed in Punta Arenas port operations, about his opinion on the consequences of the Gaucho Rivero Act for the touristic harbour activities in Punta Arenas, he dismissed them as "negligible" (pers. comm. 2012).

cases. Reporting from an international cruise shipping convention[180] in Miami, Florida, a manager of an Ushuaia tourism business described a climate of disapproval towards Argentina's line of action (Prensa 2012m). Carnival Cruises, the company that operated the Star Princess, considered switching to Punta Arenas, while another operator, Discovery, had already done so (Tiempo fueguino 2012i). Simultaneously, the president of the port, Alejandro Berola, who had gone to Seatrade to defend his stance, reported that "the majority of operators [were] calm" after he reassured them that they would "mostly not be concerned" by the embargo.[181] He pointed to a few new operators he could win for Ushuaia (Prensa 2012n). This allegation was denied by the Tourism Chamber (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2012i; El diario del Fin del Mundo 2012j).

[180] Colloquially called Seatrade in Ushuaian newspapers, this term describes the Cruise Shipping Miami event in which different stakeholders in the cruise industry, i.e. cruise liners, suppliers, and travel agents, come together (Cruise Shipping Miami 2014).

[181] Berola stated that "the only problematic ships were the [Star Princess and El Adonia]" (Prensa 2012o) but did not explain why the vessels had not been turned away on previous occasions, nor why similar cases were granted entry to Ushuaia's port.


**Figure 8.7** "Guillermo go home. Son Argentinas [they are Argentine]": Sticker in a Ushuaian shop window on the main street protesting the dispatch of Prince William ("Guillermo" in its Hispanic version) as a helicopter search and rescue pilot to the Falkland Islands (Photograph: A. Herbert).

Unlike in other parts of Argentina that are socially and physically farther distanced from the Malvinas (Benwell and Dodds 2011:447), the dominant geopolitical representations that are reproduced in Ushuaia shape the way residents perceive political ambitions that underpin the Gaucho Rivero incident. While most of my research participants disagreed with the way the political decision was implemented, they did not oppose the act as such. Segundo, a maritime agent, called the decision "logical":

> "They [the British] are making profits in the Malvinas zone, and then they come fuel up in our ports – [allowing this] is a bit contradictory when you want to make a strong and firm reclaim."

Mora, a freelance tourism guide, believed it was appropriate for Ushuaia, the self-proclaimed capital of Malvinas, to take a decision in defence of national sovereignty interests. Similarly, Ulises, a dockworker from Buenos Aires, was content that after long years of inactivity, "something is being done. The Brits (los Británicos) are doing what they want. By not doing anything, we were allowing colonialism." A pastry chef, Juan Pablo, voiced his disbelief at any change resulting from the Gaucho Rivero Act, suggesting that

> "[the Malvinas] will be returned from here in a thousand years. There is a big [Antarctic] base there – it's scary! They [the British] are preparing for something."

The concept of Antarctica as a resource factory was a much-repeated idea (see Chapter 7) and inextricably linked with the Malvinas Islands. Josué, a maritime agent, suggested that this resource-focused concept explained why England[182] retained its "colonialist position and refused to return the Malvinas to Argentina, even though they gave back fifty colonies" (pers. comm., 01/03/2012). In his opinion, England perceived the Malvinas as a port of access to Antarctic resources should they need them in the future.

Daniel, the Secretary of Tourism, agreed that England's long-term plan was the control of the South Atlantic, and that they planned to do so with the help of Chile and through the use of the Malvinas as a gateway port to Antarctica. He believed that the British would not cede sovereignty of the Malvinas, and that the best position Argentina could take was to relinquish aspirations of Argentine sovereignty. The tense, accusatory atmosphere in Ushuaia as well as the pitching of the tourism sector against allegedly more patriotic parts of the society made the voicing of these ideas and a reasonably led discussion impossible.

Nationalism operates on the principles of borders ("natural", not constructed), Othering, and difference (Warf 2012:289). The Other, in this case the British who threaten Argentina's geographical boundaries, is utilised to delineate, promote, and unify the national Argentine community ("We the Argentines"). Through the use of symbols, i.e. the Malvinas and Argentine flag, slogans[183], and maps that depict both the Malvinas Islands and the nationally claimed part of Antarctica as Argentine territory, nationalist sentiments are proliferated (also see Billig 1995 on the widespread performance of national identity in everyday life). Public events, such as the

[182] Most of my research participants used England ("Inglaterra") or the English ("los Ingleses") when referring to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (also see Figure 5). I found the Spanish term for United Kingdom (Reino Unido) used more frequently in the local newspaper than in live debate, but even there it was sometimes interchanged with England or the English. While I do not feel qualified to make assumptions about the level of political or geographical knowledge and understanding behind my research participants' use of these terms, I use them to provide a better rendition of the situation in Ushuaia as it presented itself to me.

[183] A common and widely reproduced slogan connected to the Malvinas conflict is "Las Malvinas fueron, son y serán Argentinas" (translates to "the Malvinas were, are and wil be Argentine").

Gaucho Rivero Act, in its execution geared towards the media[184], or political commemoration ceremonies (see Figure 8.8), represent and recreate the image of the nation and constitute and reconstitute the social bond created by it (Skey 2006:144). The nation, an imagined community[185] (Anderson 1991[1983]), transmits to its members a sense of belonging, which is derived from common origins, values, and concerns (Warf 2012:281). As in the case of the ancient Patagonian (see Chapter 3), these origins are sometimes mythologised. Nationalism, persuasive through the structure of feeling, creates a sense of collectivity and transforms space into homeplace (Alsonso 1994:386). The essential feature in nationalism is the Other, and the powerful tool of affect (pride in "the nation", fear of "the Other") is instrumentalised to reinforce the imagined boundaries to it.[186] The Malvinas conflict has proved to be a useful vehicle to reify the nation-state, as "[n]othing stirs national pride and hatred of Others like a good war" (Warf 2012:275).

[184] See Gupta who, based on Anderson's (1983) emphasis on the role of the media as a central instigator in the creation and proliferation of "the national", reiterates that "the imagined community is formed around the breakfast tables of the readers of [newspapers]" (2007:272).

[185] Anderson defines the nation as an imagined political community, explaining that "[i]t is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (1991[1983]:6, emphasis in original).

[186] This idea links back to the concept of a good citizen or a desired migrant presented in Chapter 6 and Othering processes that are connected to ideas about placemaking in Chapters 3 and 4. Established residents in Ushuaia think of their home place in terms of what makes a good Argentine (i.e. a diligent work ethic or independence from the welfare system). The Other, sometimes stereotyped as or represented by ideas about Bolivians (Chapter 3), is consequently not a good Argentine or a good Fueguino. As Ushuaia is imagined in terms of a larger national identity, placemaking is tied to a common national identity.

The Gaucho Rivero incident described in this chapter, however, has also produced another consequence. In a rare turn of events for a city as socially segmented and polarised as Ushuaia, the nationalist repercussions of the Gaucho Rivero incident in February 2012 gave economic migrants, who otherwise have neither voice nor stake in the tourism-focused structure of the city, the chance to experience a sense of belonging and unity with other residents. The government rethoric employed in the Gaucho Rivero events pitted not residents against tourists, as unwittingly happens in urban touristic developments, but Argentines against the British.


**Figure 8.8** An employee of a local TV station films part of a public ceremony to commemorate the Argentine "Antarctic Day" (Día de la Antártida) on 22/02/2012 (Photograph: A. Herbert).

The provincial decision to deny entry to allegedly British vessels is indicative of an abandonment of Argentina's less confrontational politics from just a few years prior to the incident. A less aggressive, less emotionalised kind of nationalism had attempted to signal Argentina's disposition to a more pacifist approach to the Malvinas question. The aim of this strategy was to stabilize Argentina's international standing as a reasonable, conciliatory political entity, contrasting British stereotypes of the Argentines as irrational and impossible to negotiate with (Benwell and Dodds 2011:445). This effort was abolished with the 2012 Gaucho Rivero Act incident and is symptomatic of Argentina's shifting to a more aggressive, anti-British stance (Dodds 2012a:685). The Gaucho Rivero Act must be seen as part of a national strategy that aims at weakening British economy by disrupting the economic life of the Falkland/Malvinas islands. The 2012 incident, meant to raise the profile of sovereignty talks over the Malvinas issue (Dodds 2012a), is likely to have backfired in its attempt to secure international support for subsequent actions on the Argentine side. The unpredictability that the provincial government demonstrated in its interpretation of the law was confirmed in March 2013. More than a year

after the incident, a local anti-imperialist[187] group protested against the docking of the Star Princess under reference to the Gaucho Rivero Act. The port authority dismissed the protests by emphasising that the vessel met all of the necessary requirements as the company's capital was "mostly not English" (Diario La Nueva Provincia, 04/03/2013).

An interesting insight into how some of my research participants interpreted Ushuaia's role in the Argentine nation emerged as a result of the Gaucho Rivero Act incident. Some of my research participants voiced their irritation about the province being "a guinea pig for the president", a feat that they saw confirmed with the interpretation of the Gaucho Rivero Act. Mora, a tourist guide, said that it annoyed her that every time the president [Cristina Kirchner] wanted to implement a new regulation[188] or a law change in Argentina

> "what she does is send a project to the end of the world, literally, and she doesn't really want to do it in a population like Buenos Aires. (...) She tests it in a place that nobody cares about, because nobody knows where Ushuaia or Tierra del Fuego is, not even Argentineans."

Mora believed that the president used the governor of Tierra del Fuego, whose province is heavily subsidised, for political favours. Similarly, Dani, an economic migrant from Buenos Aires, alleged that the governor of Tierra del Fuego, Fabiana de Ríos, short of being "a puppet of Kirchner's", acceded to the president's notions because she was politically indebted to her due the province's maintained[189] status. Several of my research participants who were employed in positions within the governmental administration system similarly voiced their understanding of Ushuaia as being independently provincially administered "only in name" (Natalia, pers. comm. 2012). The political decision-making that occurred over the Gaucho Rivero incident seemed to many residents to be a case of the governor "trying to be as K[irchner-loyal] as possible (ser lo más K possible)" (Daniel, pers. comm. 2012; cf. Prensa 2012p. Research participants from the municipality-dependent tourism sector and in government positions were careful about voicing

---

[187] "Anti-imperialism", meaning the political opposition to foreign domination, in the Argentine context refers to the perspective that political endeavours by the United Kingdom are attempts to secure or maintain political, economic, and cultural dominance over territory and resources. Examples in this perspective are the Malvinas/Falklands dispute and British resource extraction in the South Atlantic.

[188] An example of this is the legalization of same-sex marriage in Tierra del Fuego in 2009, before it was legalized in the whole of Argentina in 2010.

[189] This refers to the province's dependence on national subsidies.

criticism during taped interviews, but voiced their personal doubts about the consequences of the Gaucho Rivero Act off-record. On the whole, opinions on the incident were mixed, but seemed to move those of my research participants more who identified as NyC or established VyQ with stronger emotive connections to the Province. This can be understood as an indicator to how the concept of place and the processes of placemaking extend to political occurrences, linking Antarctica-related politics and touristic aspirations or the lack thereof.

### The Port: Blessing or curse?

As a central actor in the Antarctic and cruise ship-based tourism and Ushuaia's function as a gateway port, the port holds a crucial role for the touristic development of the city. The port is at the same time a stakeholder in the tourism and manufacturing industries, as both cargo and tourist vessels depend on it. In this function, the port unites two of the major drivers of Ushuaian economy. In many of my conversations and interviews with tourism-affiliated research participants, negative criticism regarding efficiency and transparency was applied to the administration of the port, which was likely also influenced by numerous strikes by dockworkers. Research participants voiced their incomprehension about dockworkers "who have [money] coming out of their ears and still demand more" (Mora, pers. comm. 2012). Alumni of the Tourism Studies at the local university (UNTDF) suggested that the relationship between the port and the city became conflict-laden when tourism began to increase from early 2000 onwards and the port struggled to keep up with the demand (El diario del Fin del Mundo 2012k). During my field research, various incidents occurred that shook the port's reputation as an efficient entity in this function.

Until the 1990s, ports were under the authority of the Argentine state, before they were made into provincial entities. The port operators remain private, autarkic, and self-administrated investors with economic interests, a fact that contributes to the local controversy surrounding the port's practices. For example, the Ushuaian port logistics company Lech-Mar is also privately operated but linked to political decision making through its co-owner and president of the Chamber of Port Operators and Related Business (COPSA, Cámara de Operadores Portuarios y

Servicios Afines), provincial legislator Jorge Lechman[190]. Aided by a newly introduced policy, Lech-Mar raised its service fees (and with that, the dockworkers' income) substantially within two years (El diario del Fin del Mundo, 19.01/2009). Josué, a maritime agent dependent on the port, described European contractors' reactions and the problems this caused the local maritime agents:

> "They look at me as if they're saying, 'You're stealing from me'. Of course, their first impression is that I'm charging them [that much], and I tell them, 'No, no'. I'm telling you that unfortunately the unions in Argentina have much power, [...] that wasn't the case fifteen years ago. If the government had told them [back then], 'No, guys, it's not allowed to raise salaries so indiscriminately' [...] there would have been pay rises [after meetings between all parties involved] but we'd be talking thirty, forty, fifty per cent raises."

On top of this pay rise, Josué explained, dockworkers went on strike "at every opportunity", blocking streets and port entry in the process, which had seen tourists having to enter the pier on foot, their luggage in hand. Eloy, a US-American Antarctic Zodiac driver, recounted an incident that occurred shortly before his ship was scheduled to leave in January 2012. All the guests had already boarded the ship, but a few pieces of luggage had arrived slightly delayed and were sitting on the dock in front of the ship. When Eloy questioned the delay of departure, he was told by staff members that there was a crew of luggage handlers who were the only ones permitted to touch the bags. Eloy recounted his impression of the incident as follows:

> "So, there's literally five pieces of luggage sitting on the pier, you know, just on the other end of the gangway, that we could've loaded in thirty seconds and been able to leave. But we couldn't because the next crew hadn't come on shift yet and so (...) the previous crew was guarding the luggage and was physically not allowing any of our people to take them. (...) It was absolutely ridiculous. You're holding up an entire ship of people that are paying thousands of dollars to go to Antarctica and they're really excited to go but we have to wait because of some agreement between the cruise companies and the port."

---

[190] As an interesting aside, Lechman's Twitter account bears the sub-header "Fueguino NYC" [sic] (http://www.twitter.com/JorgeLechman), utilising a value-laden term that in Ushuaia's socio-economic context separates established, born and bred residents from migrants (see Chapter 3) and can be understood as an attempt to raise his social profile with the politically and/or economically influential local elites. In the aftermath of the Gaucho Rivero incident, Lechman positioned himself in contra to the political decision to turn away the cruise ships, and drew attention to the importance of keeping intact Ushuaia's image as a friendly cruise ship destination.

Antarctica-affiliated companies were among those parties who were affected by the volatile behaviour exhibited by some of the port's dockworkers. Johanna, an Antarctic expedition leader based in Ushuaia, remarked that the dockworkers were prone to strike – a position facilitated by the fact that the company owner was a member of the city council and passed a law that placed the dockworker business into a monopoly position. The port did not invest the considerable revenue created from port fees in any port-enhancing infrastructure (every passenger pays a port fee of US$ 2, and docking ships pay a fee for every half-day – Johanna said that approximately US$ 2,000 was paid every time the Ushuaia docked at the pier):

> "It's millions [of dollars] coming in each year, and it's just kind of divided amongst them. (…) The only thing that they did in the last ten years was to put in public toilets – because we [Antarctic tourism operator] made them. They put in two."

Pablo, a local lawyer employed by the municipality and working on the extension of the port facilities, confirmed the lack of investment in infrastructure by the port. A lack of cohesion and coordination between public and private stakeholders as well as appropriate port management are obstacles in a city's functioning as a gateway port (Hull and Milne 2010).

On the other hand, it was obvious that the port administration was aware of the importance of maintaining and improving its connection to (Antarctic) cruise tourism. According to Roberto Murcia, the vice-president of the port, it is undergoing a phase of extensive re-organization. Roberto admitted that the multi-purpose use of the port, servicing cargo vessels, fishing vessels, and tourist vessels, was presenting challenges for a smooth operation. At the time of my fieldwork, all three types of vessels were serviced on the same pier, with touristic ships given priority over other vessels and within this hierarchy, Antarctic ships prioritized over other tourist vessels. To provide relief for the structure through which on top of the touristic traffic, all of the province's industrial and logistic imports arrive, two measurements were anticipated. First, in 2007 plans for a new port for the neighbouring city of Río Grande were sanctioned. This move would lead to "60% of all [cargo] going directly there instead of having to be transported in trucks from Ushuaia upon arrival" (Roberto, pers. communication, 2012). At present, the port is struggling under the multitude of operations required, and the ensuing transportation of the arriving goods to Río Grande strains provincial land routes.

Second, the existing pier was planned to be extended both in width and in length (Roberto, pers. comm. 2012). After an extension of the pier in 1994, this would become the second extension of the pier, indicating a growing touristic importance. Roberto described

Antarctic tourism as especially desirable from an economic perspective for the community. While Antarctic vessels generate the same income for the port as other tourist vessels, their increased need for logistics services and supplies from laundry services to accommodation for staff, brings more business to the according local businesses than the largely self-contained cruise ships (Roberto, pers. comm. 2012). On an international scale, a bigger, more effective port, coupled with extended logistical service such as the Polo, would strengthen Ushuaia's rank as the most active gateway port from a touristic perspective. It would also serve to potentially attract more National Antarctic Programmes to Ushuaia. This in turn would strengthen Argentina's position as a significant force in international Antarctic matters. Antarctic and touristic institutions in Ushuaia attempt to re-enforce the city's Antarctic character by shaping the city's image through Antarctica-orientated placemaking strategies. Hurdles in this plan are stakeholders that do not co-operate smoothly, such as striking dockworkers or a public that either opposes the according commodification of landscape or struggles to identify with the Antarctic mindset.

Political incidents like the Gaucho Rivero Act emphasize the vulnerability of a port that is administrated by the provincial government. A gateway port without alternative, private ports to use in case of a governmental boycott depends on the political stability of the province it is part of. This volatility in turn affects the international trust in the Argentine port services and capabilities. Josué predicted that the Gaucho Rivero Act incident might make operators devalue Ushuaia as a port of call:

> "So, that's what operators see today. And that leads me to the question: Will it affect us [Ushuaia as a port and TAMIC as a port agent] or not? I think it will, I think it will, because there are operators who will say, 'Señores Chileans, I will start coming to Punta Arenas, what can you offer me? And apologies for not having come all those years…'"

Argentina was not consistent in the application of its Antarctic aspirations, the maritime agent Josué suggested, as Ushuaia was the best port for Antarctic operations, but Argentina's political line of action did not align with the needs of the Antarctic tourism sector. The lack of political interest and support on both the national and provincial level made local working conditions as an Antarctic tourism gateway port comparatively difficult.

## Conclusion

The decision to block entry for two cruise ships in February 2012 in the name of political sovereignty over the Falkland/Malvinas Islands showed that tourism features relatively low

among the provincial political priorities, as the Gaucho Rivero Act jeopardized Ushuaia's international standing as an amicable destination for cruise tourism. This reveals a schism between political rhetoric and practiced reality. On the one hand, the proximity to Antarctica is presented as Tierra del Fuego's "only way to prosperity" (Portela 2006:266f). On the other hand, a politically more balanced, neutral handling of matters that impact on the function of Ushuaia as an Antarctic gateway port is de-prioritized over emotionalised political gestures such as the arguably erratic application of the Gaucho Rivero Act to two tourist vessels.[191]

As Babadzan reminds us, nationalism is "also a political program and an ideology, with precise social and political functions" (2000:132). Sentiment and affect, crucial to the apparatus of nationalist loyalty, are instrumentalised to dispel uncertainties about national peoplehood (cf. Alsonso 1994: 386; see Appadurai 2006 on violence as a community-building exercise). In periods of national frustration, political chaos, and recurrent and ongoing financial crises, territorial questions such as the Malvinas conflict are perceived as increasingly important (Escudé 1988:161) and are instrumentalised by the government to secure nationalist support and distract from economic or political crises.[192] The natural resources of the islands are of economic interest for the Argentine government, as is the Malvinas/Falklands strategic position in regard to the Antarctic, as discussed in earlier sections of this thesis. The Gaucho Rivero developments and the heightened sense of nationalism that surrounded the incident have to be seen in light of these political interests. Two years after the turning away of the cruise ships, when questioned about repercussions to Ushuaia's touristic reputation, Ushuaia's Secretary of Tourism, Daniel Leguizamón, defended the Gaucho Rivero Act as

> "totally correct; it doesn't affect the touristic operation. (…) It may have initially affected [it], but Ushuaia is a highly strategic enclave for cruise ship operations of all kinds, so if

[191] An example on national level includes the much-publicised action of Cristina Kirchner trying to hand UK prime minister David Cameron a letter labelled "Resoluciones ONU, Cuestión Malvinas [UN Decisions on Malvinas]" during the G20 convention in June 2012 (Wintour 2012).

[192] It has long been argued that territorial losses are used by the government as distractions from political and/or economic malaise, for example in the Malvinas conflict in 1983 that happened during the military dictatorship (e.g. Haefele 2012; Reisman 1983:287; also see political scientist Mark Jones (in Neild and Gilbert 2013), who suggests that "[t]he [Argentine] government is being squeezed from lots of different areas, so one way to distract from the economic problems facing the country is to raise the Malvinas issue. It's one of the few issues outside football that you can get universal consensus on.")

there was some kind of damage to the reputation, operations and commercial logics intervened [and reversed it]." (pers. comm. 2014)

However, while it is yet unclear whether negative long-term consequences will be felt in the Antarctic gateway port of Ushuaia, it is possible that authorities from both Punta Arenas and Puerto Williams[193] will benefit from the controversy created and attempt to improve their positioning as desirable Antarctic gateway ports.

As I have shown in previous sections of this chapter, the topic of the Malvinas, "a sacred cause for everyone [in Tierra del Fuego]" (public speech by Navy Admiral Graf, 29/02/2012) and the provincial decisions on the Gaucho Rivero Act in February 2012 resemble a fall-back onto a pre-Treaty mindset that prioritized the means of an Antarctic sovereignty through military presence over the use of science and tourism. The worsening relations between the UK and Argentina have long since infiltrated the annual diplomatic meetings of the Antarctic Treaty System (Dodds and Hemmings 2013:3) and, with the Gaucho Rivero developments, give cause to a sceptical outlook on future bi-national co-operation in Antarctic realms.

The "patriotic trance" (Leguizamón, pers. comm. 2012) surrounding the Malvinas is a fitting example of how repercussions of both political and economic decisions can contribute to the weakening of Ushuaia as an Antarctic gateway port. It also points to the place and function nationalist sentiment occupies in the politics, economics, and social life of Ushuaian residents. Despite the pervasiveness of the Gaucho Rivero Act developments and its connection to Argentine geo-political aspirations, other matters of strategic importance fail to entice widespread affirmative backing. While the plans to build an Antarctic logistics and support hub and extend the pier by 250 metres are likely to increase Ushuaia's profile as a gateway port, the residential support for these plans is unstable. Opinions are divided due to the aesthetic and physical dominance of the proposed Antarctic Centre over the city. At the same time, there are voices that argue that Ushuaia was born through the harbour, and that anything to do with it has its rightful place in the city.

[193] Puerto Williams, population approximately 2,700 people (Puerto Williams 2010), is a Chilean settlement on the Isla Navarino, facing the Beagle Channel. A recent article in an Argentine newspaper reported the local Chilean authorities as saying: "We are the natural gate to Antarctica" in a bid to increase their Antarctic potential (Tiempo fueguino 2012).

The incidents around the Gaucho Rivero Act and the importance given to Antarctica-related port operations by the media and the involved public emphasise the differing views of place that exist in the city. The words of Fabio Marinello, an Ushuaian legislator for the Patagonian Social Party (Partido Social Patagónico), testify to the fact that for that fraction of residents who regard Ushuaia primarily in terms of its geopolitical function, any other economic activities have to stand back. Commenting on why he believed that the Gaucho Rivero Act was justified and 'the right thing to do' despite the controversy surrounding its impact on Ushuaia's touristic image and the tourism economy, Marinello said that

> "Tierra del Fuego is not just another province (…), but Tierra del Fuego is the province that the Malvinas, Georgias and South Sandwich Islands and adjacent sea belong to." (Tiempo fueguino 2012j)

As seen in the incidents around the Gaucho Rivero Act that I describe in this chapter, tourism, instrumentalised in the construction of Ushuaia and the province of Tierra del Fuego, is deprioritised over other economic sectors. The government emphasised geopolitical 'hard power' over tourism's function as a 'soft power' on the stage of international politics. The tourism sector, in its protest against a law that disadvantages the tourism trade and damages Ushuaia's touristic image, has shown resistance against the governance-related understanding of the city and the province. This understanding disregards the function and importance of tourism in the government's overarching geopolitical agenda.

# 9 Discussion and conclusion

> "I don't doubt that Ushuaia is crying… before, it was a quiet place, the real end of the world… now it's not only full of slums [villas], but everybody wants to go and live there […]. Everybody wants to return there and everybody says 'This is my place in the world'. Cry, Ushuaia, I understand you, Mar del Plata [popular Argentine seaside beach resort] in January is almost quieter than you."
>
> (Online comment in the Facebook group Ushuaia, 2012)

> "Instead of individual land shares, more communitarian buildings need to be constructed so that we can maintain natural spaces. Housing should become collective instead of remaining individual. At present, individual plots are occupied however way one likes it. This [suggestion for collectivity] goes against the present urge to have one's own piece of land, have a dog, a flower bed, [and] land to farm. The city needs to compact itself instead of extending itself."
>
> (Hernan, urban planning advisor, 2012)

Ushuaia is a city with a rich past and a multi-faceted present. Ushuaia is in motion, a city that is struggling with the consequences of its early-boom stages, headed into a future where the city's fate – in this case, its main officially sanctioned purpose – is yet to be determined, by both the actions of the different actors and institutions within the provincial and national government and the various social groups that make up the Ushuaian community.

Ushuaia, a popular tourist destination marketed as "the end of the world" and the world's most active Antarctic gateway port in terms of tourism, remains attractive for visitors, migrants, and short-term labourers alike. Tourism brings out the contrasts in the city: Where rich foreigners meet impoverished economic migrants, five-star hotels face shacks of informal settlements, and wealthy local businessmen oppose struggling tourism workers, a multitude of interests, expectations, and conflicts ensue. Tourism also has implications for those residents not directly involved in the industry, as the brand that the city's tourism administration has imposed on Ushuaia envelopes all residents; socio-spatial changes are made in the name of touristic (and urban) development, and socio-economic repercussions from the touristic demand affect the whole of the local population. As shown in my thesis, not all urban development and residential growth is directly linked to tourism. Indeed, most of it derives from economic subsidies and strategies linked with the Argentine government's geopolitical ambitions. These ambitions aim at increasing the national scientific, political, and touristic competitiveness

regarding Argentine Antarctic presence and have particularly significant implications on its southernmost province. Arguably, the conflict and debate about how to proceed on tourism plans for urban development arise precisely from the fact that the economic livelihoods of many residents remain largely untouched by the tourism trade. Some residents feel that more livelihoods could and should benefit from tourism, and hold that its benefits are not well distributed in the community.

The case of Ushuaia helps to raise questions about the connection between urban development and migration in general. As more people worldwide move from the countryside to the city, either for economic or, in some cases, for lifestyle reasons, the city faces increasing pressure to accommodate the newcomers and manage both their developing demands and those of the existing residents. Ushuaia, the formerly tranquil and now bustling city at the edge of the world, reflects a phenomenon that is currently occurring all around the world. In order to understand the conflict of interests and the differing reactions to challenges presented to the community and resulting from the growing strains on town services and infrastructure, one needs to understand the various social groups present in Ushuaia and the different positions held by them. Hailing from different socio-economic and socio-cultural backgrounds, with different expectations of the city, different underlying notions of place, and with different relations with the government, many residents find themselves at an impasse with other interests and perceptions of place at work in Ushuaia. Incidents and developments that challenge the competing urban visions, such as the Gaucho Rivero Act, the rise and expansion of informal settlements, or proposed landscape alterations through the built environment highlight the differing agendas in Ushuaia.

## Ushuaia: Diversity and controversy among residents

Ushuaia, then, is a city presenting many faces. Whilst its residents are similarly subject to governmental decisions which aim to make the city geopolitically significant on a South American, Antarctic, and Southern Atlantic scale, they nonetheless represent a diversity of socio-political, socio-economic, and socio-cultural backgrounds, ambitions, and expectations. Differing outlooks collide over land use and the importance of Antarctica for the orientation of the city. In the following sections, I bring to the fore those faces (meaning representatives of some of Ushuaia's social groups) that have participated in my research and shaped my understanding of the social reality of the city. Below, I present sketches of the everyday lives, livelihoods, and

perspectives of twelve different residents of the city. Each of these sketches adds a new dimension to my portrait of the lives, economies, and spaces of Ushuaia.

Ushuaia has the face of Flor, the economic migrant who came looking for better employment conditions and works as a cleaner in one of the many local hostels. For Flor, Ushuaia is a place with the promise of a better life in the form of a higher-paid job, access to free health care for her and her young child, and the reassuring security of a social benefit net should she need it. Flor lives in an informal settlement on the margins of the city, which she chose as a consequence of her inability to find rental accommodation at rates less than her monthly income. Having lived in the city for several years, she has not yet developed a sense of belonging and does not feel like she is an accepted member of dominant, or established, society. Typical of Ushuaia's socio-spatial ordering that arranges habitation primarily according to socio-economic and socio-cultural factors, Flor has been marginalised as an Other by established residents. Her understanding of place regards territory in terms of pragmatic considerations, disregarding the landscape and lifestyle factors that are meaningful to residents and migrants with place-based aspirations relating to tourism and quality of life.

Ushuaia has the face of Catalina and Pablo, economic migrants from a northern Patagonian province who arrived in the city roughly ten years ago. Struggling to cope economically and adapt culturally to the host society, they have since brought to life a community of informal settlers in the hills overlooking the Ushuaian valley and the Beagle Channel. Acting as community organisers, Catalina and Pablo have helped to construct an informal settlement that accommodates both lifestyle and necessity-related motivations. Removed from the tourism trade, they remain largely indifferent to touristic or urban developments, but are taking note of recent processes involving the commercialisation and integration of informal settlements into the touristic image and circuit of Ushuaia. Antarctic and geopolitical concerns are removed from their scope of interest, as access to Antarctica is reserved both on the touristic and employment level for residents with higher-earning potential and different skill sets. Geopolitical concerns feature low on Catalina and Pablo's attention radar due to more immediate and more pressing challenges that present due to their marginal role in the local economy and their socio-cultural status as Other. In contrast to the stereotypes and prejudices that established residents hold against economic migrants in general and informal settlers in particular, Catalina and Pablo regard place from both a utilitarian point of view and a position that prioritises lifestyle preferences such as access to minimally modified green spaces, tranquillity, spaciousness, and personal autonomy in regard to lifestyle expressions. Relishing

the tranquillity, remoteness, and the immediate access to the natural environment their settlement offers them, they are critical of the increasing hustle and bustle of the city and the growing pressures that accompany urban development.

Ushuaia has the face of Mora, a university-educated woman without a degree who works an unstable, seasonal job as a tourist guide in the harbour and dreams of working as a tourist guide on Antarctic cruises. An economic migrant with an appreciation for Ushuaia's natural surroundings, Mora is critical of economic migrants who seize land and city planners who threaten the landscape-focused expectations of established residents and amenity migrants. Trilingual, with an interest in biology and experience as a tourist guide, Mora fits into the social profile of residents with elite access to low to midlevel waged positions on Antarctic vessels, but has yet to secure a personal connection allowing her to join an expedition. With her education and employment background and her sustained interest in Antarctica, Mora differs from other economic and established residents who have less economic means or less social capital, Antarctica-relevant skills and education, and interest in the white continent. Mora represents the Antarctic and Malvinas-related geopolitical propaganda[194] integral to national and local governance of Ushuaia, incorporating such representations into her perception of place. For Mora, Ushuaia particularly represents the capital of the "Province of Tierra del Fuego, Antarctica and South Atlantic Islands" (Provincia de Tierra del Fuego, Antártida e Islas del Atlántico Sur), the most active Antarctic gateway port, and the city closest to Antarctica.

Ushuaia has the face of Victor, a retired sailor who frequently worked in Antarctic waters and feels intimately connected with Ushuaia's Navy base and Navy operations. Victor, whose son Adán works on Antarctic cruise ships, is dismissive of Antarctic tourism developments but supportive of Antarctica-related urban developments in Ushuaia as they increase Ushuaia's Antarctic profile, helping to set the city apart from other Antarctic gateway ports. Perceiving Ushuaia mainly in terms of its Antarctic and geopolitical significance, Victor is indifferent towards the position of residents who protest against Antarctica-related infrastructure that threatens to alter the landscape.

[194] These include, for example, statements linking the pertinence and belonging of the Malvinas Islands to Argentina, the subsequent denegation of British political ambitions and undertakings in the South Atlantic, or the Argentine "historic right" to its Antarctic claim.

Ushuaia has the face of Domenico, co-owner of a popular central hostel, who resides in Ushuaia for part of the year and does good business with both regular tourists and the occasional budget or last-minute Antarctic tourist. Indifferent about possible environmental or aesthetic impacts of urban growth, he nevertheless reveals himself indignant toward economic migrants whom he perceives to be "exploiting the system". Domenico is cynical about Antarctic tourists whom he sees as frequently presumptuous and tight-fisted. He does not demonstrate an empathetic commitment to Antarctica. Regarding Ushuaia from a primarily economic perspective, Domenico is indifferent towards the geopolitical agenda underlying local and provincial governance. Without a biographical connection to the city except for his business-related interactions, Domenico does not lament ongoing and planned urban developments so much as he suspects that the modernisation and increase in visitor numbers might damage the city's overall touristic potential and with that, his own business.

Ushuaia has the face of Mateo, a Fueguian native concerned with the 'real' Ushuaia as the place he grew up in sixty-odd years ago. He laments the urban development resulting in more inhabitants, the experience of less civic safety, the receding native forest, the proliferation of high-rise modern constructions, and the influx of people he believes want to take advantage of the city's social system and urban benefits at the expense of the natural environment, the established residents' quality of life, and Ushuaia's touristic potential. While conscious of the province's historic Antarctic connections, Mateo is indifferent towards current Antarctic and geopolitical developments but values tourism in general as a non-intrusive and economically beneficial activity for the community.

Ushuaia has the face of Julio, a retired high-waged administrative tourism worker at the municipality, who considers the protection of the natural landscape and the preservation of Ushuaia's rural, secluded, small-town charm as more important than urban developments that focus on the modernisation of the city. Positioning himself on the side of established residents and amenity migrants, Julio regards Ushuaia in terms of the anthropocentric benefits of the landscape and its touristic potential. His views clash with the practices of economic migrants who seize land, and the plans of the municipality's urban development departments that aim for modernisation and the vertical expansion of the built environment. Julio's protest against Antarctica-related infrastructure is not a criticism of the Antarctic focus per se, but rather the changes infrastructural developments will bring to the city's image as a historical place renowned for its rugged natural environment.

Ushuaia has the face of Vicente, an economic migrant from a northern Argentine province who came to the city in the 1980s as an unskilled worker without a high school education during the second wave of immigration. Vicente credits the opportunities he received in Ushuaia for his current high-responsibility, high-waged position as a social worker, and expresses an emotional affiliation to the city. Nevertheless, like many economic migrants I encountered in Ushuaia, he has plans to retire in the Argentine north. While appreciative of the comparatively tranquil lifestyle he is able to lead in Ushuaia and its serene natural environment, Vicente approaches urban development and environmental conservation from a pragmatic stance. Familiar with the plight of the informal settlers and the economic difficulties faced by incoming migrants, Vicente supports the de-prioritisation of tourism and tourists' needs over a focus on residents' needs. His understanding of place features a more utility-driven than lifestyle-oriented or aesthetics-focused approach towards landscape, in that he prioritises accommodating newcomers over maintaining landscape uninhabited, untouched, or reserved for touristic activities and visual preferences. In this, he clashes with the place-based aspirations of established residents, lifestyle migrants, and tourism actors who want to preserve an image of Ushuaia that emphasises its traditional character and closeness to pristine nature. Vicente is critical of the way the current tourism economy benefits only a select few capital-holders and remains inaccessible for the larger community.

Ushuaia has the face of Daniel, Secretary of Tourism, who wants to advance the city's touristic potential by strengthening its connection to Antarctica. For Daniel, extending Ushuaia's Antarctic (and Antarctic tourism-related) infrastructure is an important step towards the consolidation of Argentina's Antarctic profile, which he regards as important in the context of Argentina's aspirations to Antarctic sovereignty. Daniel is critical of the informal settlements in the hills above the city for damaging Ushuaia's natural landscape, its most important feature for tourism. Daniel's tourism and urban development-centred perspective of place collides with that of established residents and amenity migrants who fear that a more pronounced focus on Antarctic and other forms of tourism will further strain the town system and infrastructure. These residents are also opposed to the planned Antarctic infrastructure aimed at tourists that is bound to alter the city silhouette in a way that endangers the charm the city derives from traditional architecture and the natural environment. Some residents fear that vertically built urban developments will obstruct their view of the bay, and object to being deprioritised in relation to tourists' needs. Daniel, on the other hand, believes that a more pronounced Antarctic orientation that manifests in Antarctica-related infrastructural developments (i.e. the Antarctic

Polar Station) will benefit more residents in the long term through a steady or rising tourism trade. From this perspective, function will alter, but not damage form.

Ushuaia has the face of Jaime, an official at the municipality's urban development office, for whom vertical urban expansion, modernisation, and strong industrial and touristic development take precedence over the preservation of landscape and traditional provincial urban architecture predating the boom period. In his decisions affecting the urban development of the city, Jaime perceives Ushuaia in terms of its industrial and economic capital, disregarding the views of those residents who stress its natural environment and the benefits derived from it for both tourism and residents.

Ushuaia has the face of Antonio, a Malvinas veteran who regards the city and the province as a geopolitical stronghold against foreign interests in South Atlantic waters and a strategic position in the Malvinas/Falkland Islands dispute. This focus may accommodate, to varying degrees, other views on the use of landscape and the benefits derived from tourism, but is unlikely to be separate from the geopolitical nature that underlies governance-related initiatives in Ushuaia.

## Geopolitics, (Antarctic) tourism, and the city

What started out as research on the impact of Antarctic tourism on a South American gateway port soon extended to a broader ethnographic investigation of the gateway city of Ushuaia. While my research has revealed definite ties to Antarctica and Antarctic tourism, it has also shown that the city's connection to the White Continent is not as unanimous and all-pervasive as the title of Antarctic Gateway City, ascribed to the city by Antarctic and tourism authorities, might suggest.[195] Geopolitical aspirations following a prolonged (and ongoing) struggle with Chile over land and sovereignty were core motivations for governance efforts since the founding of Ushuaia at the end of the 19th century. The region of the South Atlantic and in an extension of that, the Argentine Antarctic territorial claim, remain the focus of governance motivations in Patagonia. Tourism plays an integral role in these geopolitical struggles, as touristic and Antarctic institutions in Ushuaia are using tourism as a soft power to strengthen Argentine Antarctic

[195] This imposed title assumes or suggests that the label of "Antarctic Gateway City" would be attributed to every inhabitant of the city, whereas in fact, this recognition is not shared by everyone.

competences and sphere of influence. As Klaus Dodds succinctly puts it, "[t]ourism will never be divorced from the contested politics of Antarctica" (2012b:47). The image and function of Ushuaia as an Antarctic gateway port needs to be seen in this larger historical and political context. But when connecting Antarctica and directly or indirectly linked tourism processes with the lives of gateway residents, it becomes clear that the dominant image is not without controversy.

At the level of everyday interaction, residential disagreements manifest in differing perceptions of place and opposing opinions regarding the use of landscape in Ushuaia. Landscape is an essential good in the tourism trade. It is also one of the principal motivators for amenity and lifestyle migrants, and the bearer of place-based memories and personal history for established residents. For economic migrants, landscape is of secondary importance, most often perceived in terms of pragmatic considerations for housing and access. As demonstrated in the characteristics of Ushuaia's different social groups, place is the source of conflict as well as misconceptions about each other.

The meaning-making processes involved in the formation of a sense of place is informed and shaped by several factors. As outlined in Chapter 1, I oriented my understanding of the construction of place-based meaning in relation to Per Gustafson's three-dimensional model of place attachment. This model suggests that meaning in relation to place, and with that, place attachment, is formed on three levels (Self-Environment-Others). Evidenced by the different positions outlined at the beginning of this chapter, personal connections to place play an important role in how residents relate to the city they live in. In Ushuaia, long-standing ties with the city, through early immigration or family connections for example, not only contribute to residents' social status, and to their understandings of self in relation to the Other, but also their attitude towards tourism. Those residents who feel bound to Ushuaia by their appreciation of its natural surroundings and the nature-oriented lifestyle they are able to lead because of it, often reported both a generally positive disposition towards tourism and a desire to curb the urban development tied to it. They often protested against the plans by the municipality and tourism institutions that proposed an ongoing or (noticeable) alteration of the built environment.

Place-based meaning is also generated and shaped by the social relations that residents maintain. The socio-spatial ordering prevalent in Ushuaia, which is especially visible in housing and accommodation (particularly informal settlements and exclusive up-market residential zones), testifies to the existence of social groups that differ in their socio-economic, political, and

place-based outlooks and approaches. Established residents contrast their understandings of place with those of (mostly) economic migrants. The understanding of place and the place attachment of economic and other migrants is shaped by their experiences of community, the role and status they are ascribed by established residents, and the space they are forced or choose to occupy within the socio-spatial organisation of the city. Economic migrants often struggle to find their place in a community of established residents who feel overwhelmed and threatened by the steady influx of newcomers. These economic migrants frequently find themselves at the geographic and symbolic margins of the city. For those residents who, for mainly economic reasons, live in informal settlements, being forced into precarious living conditions at the margins of the city and society often results in a diminished feeling of belonging and a negatively defined sense of place. Many of these migrants fail to develop strong emotional ties with the community and place, or fail to identify with them, as was clear from the accounts of economic migrants who reported feeling isolated, unwanted, discriminated, and 'out of place' in Ushuaia.

Finally, place attachment and sense of place are informed by interactions with the physical environment, which ties in with the chosen or adopted lifestyle and the individual or collective approach towards the use of the natural surroundings. Informal settlers who seize land mainly for economic reasons often show less regard for the aesthetic value of the landscape and are therefore perceived as potentially diminishing Ushuaia's touristic potential by established residents and lifestyle-driven migrants. Operating from a necessity-driven, functional approach towards place, their level of place attachment and sense of place was often weaker than those of residents who possessed a more aesthetics-driven approach. Established residents and those migrants who migrated mainly because of lifestyle reasons linked with the natural environment tended to prioritise the tourism economy and the protection of its principal asset, the aesthetic landscape. Lifestyle choices and the approach toward the natural environment were heavily influenced and shaped by economic, educational, cultural, and social factors.

In Ushuaia, another dimension that warrants attention when assessing the formation of meaning of place and place attachment is the individual's position on governance. Efforts at instilling a sense of belonging and nationalist pride regarding Antarctica and Argentine territory in the South Atlantic among Ushuaian residents seem to have failed. A substantial portion of the Ushuaian population does not identify with the city's mission as a gateway port. Issues of access, elitism, the limitations of a temporary stay, the lack of Antarctica-related education and everyday struggles that take priority over more abstract issues result in a weak identification

with Antarctica for some social groups in Ushuaia, and a feeble interest in Antarctica's geopolitical importance for Ushuaia in particular and the Argentine nation in general.

Antarctic matters are topics that will be difficult to ignore in future debates about natural resources, climate change and related global responsibilities for the earth's ecosystem, and international scientific and political cooperation. As non-claimant nations extend their Antarctic engagement, and as the 1991 Protocol on Environmental Protection to the Antarctic Treaty (abbreviation: Environmental Protocol) may be requested to be reviewed in 2048, current Antarctic developments attain a new importance. In addition, ATCPs have the prerogative to regulate tourism through binding or non-binding measures, decisions, or resolutions adopted at ATCMs. Antarctic tourism, like all other human activity related to Antarctica, is regulated through the Environmental Protocol, and any changes to the Environmental Protocol might impact tourism operations as well. Will Antarctic tourism become more strictly regulated by the ATCPs in the future, either through a binding measure on certain aspects of tourism operations or even a binding tourism convention? If so, what would this mean for a gateway city such as Ushuaia, gearing towards an increase of importance and ranking in both Antarctic logistics and tourism? How would a shift in focus or a readjustment in the officially sanctioned city image affect the workers in other economic sectors not directly linked with tourism? If the soft power that is Antarctic tourism in Antarctic geopolitics recedes, what alternative measures will Argentina take to emphasise Antarctic prowess or manifest its claim to sovereignty in day-to-day activities and life?

Notwithstanding possible modifications regarding Antarctic tourism, the challenges facing Ushuaia are already manifest and impacting the lives of gateway residents. My thesis has made visible the processes behind the touristic image of an Antarctic gateway city, drawing attention to the lived realities of some of its residents. These realities necessarily differ from the homogeneous image projected to the outside through tourism institutions, which portrays Ushuaia as a picturesque place oriented towards Antarctica, conscious of its importance on a local, provincial, and national level. Making visible the challenges and struggles behind the touristic image may encourage Antarctic tourists and other visitors to seek to understand and question the labour relations that sustain the tourism services bought and given.

Where is Ushuaia headed? Longitudinal studies of boom towns show that the social disruption caused by excessive growth of one or more industries in a community dissipate after the boom phase has ended (Smith et al. 2001:446). In the long term, negative consequences of

boom town developments are balanced, and community satisfaction increases (Brown et al. 2005:46). The community eventually adapts to the changes induced by urban development processes (England and Albrecht 1984:231). But social inequalities will persist if labour relations, especially in the tourism trade, are not improved and questioned by touristic visitors to Ushuaia and the economic benefits of tourism remain in the hands of a few. The touristic image of Ushuaia, Antarctic Gateway City, covers a complex social reality and adheres to a pronounced geopolitical agenda, which is not easily perceived by the casual visitor.

## Contributions of this thesis

This thesis represents the first detailed ethnographic study focusing on a South American Antarctic gateway city. My research deconstructs the dominant touristic image of Ushuaia that relies on homogeneous and market-oriented assumptions about the city's resident population. My thesis makes the voices of those residents heard that would otherwise struggle to be recognized. It also highlights the heterogeneous processes involved in placemaking and the development of sense of place. As such, the present study helps to inform and further the fields of Antarctic tourism research and placemaking. It contributes to the field of ethnography by applying innovative research methods and bringing to the fore the complex socio-cultural, economic, and political structures of a central actor in Antarctic and other tourism that has, until now, been neglected in academic research.

The issues addressed in this thesis – the reactions and responses of different groups of Ushuaian residents to nationally and locally enacted Antarctic politics and Antarctic tourism, the socio-cultural and socio-economic profile of the Ushuaian community and its interrelations with tourism and politics, the growth of informal settlements and their changing relationships with tourism, and the repercussions of ongoing urban development on the tourist trade and on the community's different social groups – deserve further academic attention. Exceeding the time and space limitations of a PhD thesis, the above listed themes warrant a more detailed investigation. As the repercussions of the Global Financial Crisis affect and shape economic and leisure-based decisions around the world, tourist destinations such as Ushuaia will remain vulnerable and worth academic attention in the years to come.

## Bibliography


Abruza, Daniel (ed.) (2006) A cien años de la presencia permanente e ininterrumpida de la Argentina en la Antártida. Ushuaia: Gobierno de la Provincia de Tierra del Fuego, 294 p.

Acero, José María (2006) "La actividad turística en la Antártida." In: Armando Daniel Abruza (ed.). A cien años de la presencia permanente e ininterrumpida de la Argentina en la Antártida. Ushuaia: Gobierno de la Provincia de Tierra del Fuego, 243-246.

Agencia Desarrollo Ushuaia Bureau (2013) "La organización." (Online) Available at: http://www.ushuaia.org.ar/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=1&Itemid=3 (accessed 10/01/2014).

_____. (2008) "Ten razones para visitarnos." (Online) Available at: http://ushuaia.org.ar/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=7&Itemid=10 (accessed 20/12/2013).

Andereck, Kathleen L., Karin M. Valentine, Richard C. Knopf and Christine A. Vogt (2005) "Residents' perceptions of community tourism impacts." In: Annals of Tourism Research 32(4), 1056-1076.

Ajitamos! (May 2011) Year 1, no. 1, 7 p.

Alonso, Ana María (1994) "The politics of space, time and substance: State formation, nationalism, and ethnicity." In: Annual Review of Anthropology 23, 379-405.

Anderson, Benedict (1991[1983]) Imagined Communities. Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism. London and New York: Verso, 224 p.

Antarctic Connection (2014) "What does it cost to travel to Antarctica?" (Online) Available at: http://www.antarcticconnection.com/shopcontent.asp?type=travel-money (accessed 21/12/2014).

Antarctic Treaty System (1991) "The Antarctic Treaty. Protocol on environmental protection to the Antarctic Treaty." (Online) Available at: http://www.ats.aq/documents/recatt/Att006_e.pdf (accessed 20/01/2014).

_____. (1959) (Online) Available at: http://www.ats.aq/documents/ats/treaty_original.pdf (accessed 20/01/2014).

Appadurai, Arjun (2006) Fear of small numbers: an essay on the geography of anger. London and Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 153 p.

Arendt, Hannah (2006[1963]) On Revolution. London: Penguin Books, 336 p.

Asa Berger, Arthur (2010) "Selling the adventure of a lifetime: An ethnographic report on cruising in the Antarctic." In: Michael Lueck, Patrick T. Maher and Emma J. Stewart. Cruise tourism in Polar regions. Promoting environmental and social sustainability? London: Earthscan, 43-54.

ATCM (Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meeting) XXXV (2012) “Report on Antarctic tourist flows and cruise ships operating in Ushuaia during the 2011/2012 austral summer season” (IP 88). Hobart.

ATCM (Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meeting) XXIV (2011) “Final report of the twenty-fourth Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meeting.” Saint Petersburg, 229 p.

ATCM (Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meeting) XXXIV (2011) “Report on Antarctic tourist flows and cruise ships operating in Ushuaia during the 2010/2011 austral summer season” (IP 20). Buenos Aires.

ATCM (Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meeting) XXXV (2012) “Antarctic tourism through Ushuaia. Comparison of the last four Austral summer seasons” (IP 87). Hobart, 7 p.

ATCM (Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meeting) XXXIV (2011) “Perceptions of Antarctica from the modern travellers’ perspective” (IP 122). Buenos Aires, 7 p.

Ayala, Adrián, Cecilia Colombres, Matías Prost Konrad and Teresa Yanzi (2010) “Sobre la necesidad de reconceptualizar el desarrollo y la actividad turística desde una perspectiva social. Una aproximación al caso de Tierra del Fuego.” In: Segundo Congreso de Estudiantes Historia Regional y Patagónica. Ushuaia, Tierra del Fuego. Actas del Congreso, Ushuaia, 165-176.

_____. (2009) “Sobre la necesidad de reconceptualizar el desarrollo y la actividad turística desde una perspectiva social.” In: El diario del Fin del Mundo, 16/01/2009.

Babadzan, Alain (2000) “Anthropology, nationalism and ‘the invention of tradition’.” In: Anthropological Forum: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Comparative Sociology 10(2), 131-155.

Bandieri, Susana (2010) “Volver la Mirada hacia las fronteras: La historia en perspective regional.” In: Segundo Congreso de Estudiantes Historia Regional y Patagónica. Ushuaia, Tierra del Fuego. Actas del Congreso, Ushuaia, 179-190.

Baptista, João Afonso (2012) “Tourism of poverty. The value of being poor in the non-governmental order.” In: Fabian Frenzel, Ko Koens and Malte Steinbrink (eds.). Slum Tourism: Poverty, Power and Ethics. Hoboken, Taylor and Francis, 125-143.

Barbas Rhoden, Laura (2008) “Ecology, coloniality, modernity: Argentine fictions of tierra del fuego [sic].” In: Mosaic 41(1), 18 p.

Beck, Peter J. (1994) “Managing Antarctic tourism. A front-burner issue.” In: Annals of Tourism Research 21(2), 375-386.

Behar, Ruth (1996) The vulnerable observer. Anthropology that breaks your heart. Boston: Beacon Press, 195 p.

Bell, Claudia and John Lyall (2002) The Accelerated Sublime. Landscape, Tourism, and Identity. Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger, 211 p.

Benjamin, Solomon (2008) “Occupancy Urbanism: Radicalizing Politics and Economy beyond Policy and Programs.” In: International Journal of Urban and Regional Research. 32(3), 719-729.

Benwell, Matthew C. and Klaus Dodds (2011) “Argentine territorial nationalism revisited: The Malvinas/Falklands dispute and geographies of everyday nationalism.” In: Political Geography 20, 441-449.

Berlant, Lauren (2007) “Slow death (sovereignty, obesity, lateral agency).” In: Critical Inquiry 33, 754-780.

Bernard, H. Russell (2006) “Research methods in Anthropology. Qualitative and quantitative approaches.” Fourth edition. Lanham: AltaMira, 803 p.

Bertotto, Alejandro (2012) “22 de Febrero, Día de la Antártida Argentina. Es hora de consolidar las ventajas.” In: El diario del Fin del Mundo, Ushuaia, 22/02/2012. 2.

Bertram, Esther, Bernard Stonehouse and Shona Muir (2007) “Gateway ports in the Development of Antarctic Tourism.” In: John Snyder and Bernard Stonehouse (eds.). Prospects for Polar Tourism. Wallingford: CABI. 149-169.

Billig, Michael (1995) Banal nationalism. London: Sage, 200 p.

Bourdieu, Pierre “The forms of capital.” (1986) In: John G. Richardson (ed.). Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education. New York: Greenwood Press, 241-258.

_____. (1977) Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 248 p.

Bourdieu, Pierre [and John B. Thompson (ed.)] (1991) Language and symbolic power. Cambridge: Polity Press, 302 p.

Brandenburg, Andrea M. and Matthew S. Carroll (1995) “Your place or mine? The effect of place creation on environmental values and landscape meanings.” In: Society & Natural Resources 8, 381-398.

Bridges, Lucas (1948) Uttermost Part of the Earth. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 558 p.

Broadbent, Stefana (2012) “Approaches to Personal Communication.” In: Heather A. Horst and Daniel Miller (eds.). Digital anthropology. London and New York: Berg, 127-145.

Brown, Gregory and Christopher Raymond (2007) “The relationship between place attachment and landscape values: Toward mapping place attachment.” In: Applied Geography 27, 89-111.

Brown, Katrina, R. Kerry Turner, Hala Hameed and Ian Bateman (1997) “Environmental carrying capacity and tourism development in the Maldives and Nepal.” In: Environmental Conservation 24(4), 316-325.

Brown, Ralph B., Shawn F. Dorius and Richard S. Krannich (2005) “The boom-bust-recovery cycle: Dynamics of change in community satisfaction and social integration in Delta, Utah.” In: Rural Sociology 70(1), 28-49.

Buckley, Peter (1994) “Observing the Other: Reflections on Anthropological Fieldwork.” Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association 42, 613-634.

Burgess, Ernest W. (1962) “Social problems and social processes.” In: Arnold M. Rose (ed.). Human behaviour and social processes. An interactionist approach. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 381-399.

Butler, Judith (2006) Precarious life: The powers of mourning and violence. London: Verso, 168 p.

Campbell, Marie Louise and Frances Mary Gregor (2004) Mapping Social Relations. A Primer in Doing Institutional Ethnography. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 137 p.

Canclini, Arnoldo (1980) Historia de Tierra del Fuego. Buenos Aires: Editorial Plus Ultra, 142 p.

Canclini, Arnoldo and Municipality of Ushuaia (1984) Ushuaia 1884-1984. Cien años de una ciudad argentina. Ushuaia: Municipality of Ushuaia, Argentina, 605 p.

Carrier, James G. (2003) “Biography, Ecology, Political Economy: Seascape and Conflict in Jamaica.” In: Pamela J. Stewart and Andrew Strathern (eds.). Landscape, Memory and History. Anthropological Perspectives. London and Sterling, VA: Pluto Press, 210-228.

Casado-Diaz, Maria (2012) “Exploring the geographies of lifestyle mobility.” In: Julie Wilson (ed.). The Routledge Handbook of Tourism Geographies. London and New York: Routledge, 120-125.

Cessford, Gordon R. and Paul R. Dingwall (1994) “Tourism on New Zealand’s sub-Antarctic islands.” In: Annals of Tourism Research 21(2), 318-332.

Chambers, Robert (1997) Whose reality counts? Putting the first last. London: Intermediate Technology Publications, 297 p.

Chang, T.C. (2012) “Making and unmaking places in tourism geographies.” In: Julie Wilson (ed.). The Routledge Handbook of Tourism Geographies. London and New York: Routledge, 133-138.

Chatterton, Paul (2002) “’Squatting is Still Legal, Necessary and Free’: A Brief Intervention in the Corporate City.” In: Antipode, 1-7.

Chatwin, Bruce (1977) In Patagonia. London: Cape, 204 p.

City of Cape Town (2012) “City of Cape Town – 2011 Census – Cape Town.” (Online) Available at: https://www.capetown.gov.za/en/stats/Documents/2011%20Census/2011_Census_Cape_Town_Profile.pdf (accessed 22/01/2014).

Clark-Ibáñez, Marisol (2004) “Framing the Social World with Photo-Elicitation Interviews.” In: American Behavioral Scientist (4), 1507-1527.

Cófreces, Jorge (2011) “Una oportunidad de ser protagonistas.” In: El diario del Fin del Mundo, 21/11/2011, 17.

Cohen, Erik (2012) “Globalization, Global Crises and Tourism.: In: Tourism Recreation Research 37(2), 103-111.

Colacrai, Myriam (2006) “Política antártica argentina.” In: Armando Daniel Abruza (ed.). A cien años de la presencia permanente e ininterrumpida de la Argentina en la Antártida. Ushuaia: Gobierno de la Provincia de Tierra del Fuego, 61-81.

Colegio de Arquitectos de Tierra del Fuego (2011) “Localización Estación Polar Antártica.” (Online) Available at: http://www.arquitierradelfuego.com/contenido/leer/330-localizacion-estacion-polar-antartica.html, 10/05/2011 (accessed 10/10/2013).

Coleman, Scott D., J. David Perry and Thomas M. Schwen (1997) “Constructivist Instructional Development: Reflecting on Practice from an Alternative Paradigm.” In: Charles A. Dills and A.J. Romiszowski (eds.). Instructional Development Paradigms. New Jersey: Educational Technology Publications, 269-282.

Coleman, James (1988) “Social capital in the creation of human capital.” In: American Journal of Sociology 94 (Supplement: Organizations and Institutions. Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure), 95-120.

Collier, John Jr. (1967) Visual anthropology. Photography as a research method. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 138 p.

Comerci, Santiago M. and Ricardo Capdevila (1984) “Ushuaia, puerta de la Antártida.” In: Arnoldo Canclini (ed.). Ushuaia 1884-1984. Ushuaia: Municipality of Ushuaia, Argentina, 542-547.

Commercial Syndicate of Ushuaia (2011) “Escala Salarial Sindicato de Comercio Ushuaia. Diciembre 2011.” Document, 1 p.

Conway, William (2005) Act III in Patagonia. People and Wildlife. Washington, Island Press, 344 p.

Crónicas Fueguinas (2011) “Contenedores en la costa quieren restringirlos.” (Online) Available at: http://cronicasfueguinas.blogspot.co.nz/2011/09/contenedores-en-la-costa-quieren.html (accessed 20/09/2013).

_____. (2010) “Rechazan convenio Bahia Cauquen.” (Online) Available at: http://cronicasfueguinas.blogspot.co.nz/2010/09/rechazan-convenio-bahia-cauquen.html, 14/09/2010 (accessed 01/11/2013).

_____. (2008) “Antes del 28 de abril tienen que sacar las barreras.” (Online) Available at: http://cronicasfueguinas.blogspot.co.nz/2008/04/antes-del-28-de-abril-tienen-que-sacar.html, 11/04/2008 (accessed 28/10/2013).

Cruise Shipping Miami (2014) “Welcome to Cruise Shipping Miami.” (Online) Available at: http://www.cruiseshippingevents.com/miami/ (accessed 05/01/2014).

Dann, Graham (1999) “Writing out the tourist in space and time.” In: Annals of Tourism Research 26(1), 159-187.

Darwin, Charles (2001) Charles Darwin’s Beagle Diary (ed. Richard Darwin Keynes). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 464 p.

Daverio, María Elena, Marie Jensen, Ana Arcos, Marcelo Arias, Patricia Mosti and Gabriela Tissera (2005) "Turismo de cruceros y generación de residuos: Incidencia del volumen de residuos descargados por los cruceros respecto del generado en la ciudad de Ushuaia (Tierra del Fuego, Argentina)." Ms, 16 p.

Daverio, María Elena, Marie Jensen and Marisol Vereda (2007) "Informe diagnóstico de la actividad de cruceros turísticos en Ushuaia." Ms, 88+ p.

Daverio, María Elena, Patricia Mosti, Laura Malmierca, Ana Arcos and Marcelo Arias (2007) "Relaciones entre motivaciones de visita, expectativas y percepción de congestionamiento y las actividades que realizan los visitantes en el Parque Nacional Tierra del Fuego, Argentina." Presentation held at Jornadas Nacionales de Investigació y Acción en Turismo, Posadas, Argentina.

Davis, Pamela B. (1999) "Beyond guidelines. A model for Antarctic tourism." In: Annals of Tourism Research 26(3), 516-533.

Davis, Jeffrey Sasha and Duarte B. Morais (2004) "Factions and enclaves: Small towns and socially unsustainable tourism development." In: Journal of Travel Research 43(3), 3-10.

Deery, Margaret, Leo Jago and Liz Fredline (2012) "Rethinking social impacts of tourism research: A new research agenda." In: Tourism Management 33, 64-73.

del Acebo Ibáñez, Enrique (2010) "Bordering immigrants in Argentina. The case of the Chilean immigration to Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego." In: Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez and Helgi Gunnlaugsson (eds.). La circumpolaridad como fenómeno sociocultural. Buenos Aires: University of Buenos Aires, 253-269.

_____. (2007) "Metropolis, the Southern Cone of Latin America and the Antarctica [sic]." In: Arctic Antarctic. International Journal of Circumpolar Sociocultural Issues 1(1), 99-147.

DeVault, Marjorie L. (2006) "What is Institutional Ethnography?" In: Social Problems 53(3), 294-299.

Deviant Art (2011) "Territorial claims in Antarctica." (Online) Available at: http://hetalia-antarctica.deviantart.com/art/Territorial-claims-in-Antarctica-270410898 (accessed 10/12/2013).

DeWalt, Kathleen and Billie R. DeWalt (2002) Participant Observation. A Guide for Fieldworkers. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira, 285 p.

Diario La Nueva Provincia (2013) "El Grupo Quebracho hizon un piquete en protesta contra crucero inglés." (Online) Available at: http://www.lanueva.com/hoy/nota/348e6fb704/1/ 139965.html, 04/03/2013 (accessed 20/10/2013).

Diedrich, Amy (2010) "Cruise ship tourism in Belize: The implications of developing cruise ship tourism in an ecotourism destination." In: Ocean & Coastal Management 53, 234-244.

Dimitriu, Andrés M. (2000) "Magallanes en bermudas. Turismo, organización espacial y crisis." In Nueva Sociedad 171, 43-57.

Dirección Provincial de Puertos (2009) "Reseña historica." (Online) Available at: http://www.puertoushuaia.gov.ar/historia.htm (accessed 30/09/2013).

Dodds, Klaus J. and Alan D. Hemmings (2013) "Recent developments in relations between the United Kingdom and the Argentine Republic in the South Atlantic/Antarctic region." In: Polar Record, Cambridge University Press, 9 p.

Dodds, Klaus J. (2012a) "Stormy waters: Britain, the Falkland Islands and UK-Argentine relations." In: International affairs 88(4), 683-700.

_____. (2012b) The Antarctic. A very short introduction. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 144 p.

_____. (2011) "Sovereignty watch: claimant states, resources, and territory in contemporary Antarctica." In: Polar Record 47(242), 231-243.

_____. (1997) Geopolitics in Antarctica. Views from the Southern Oceanic Rim. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 252 p.

Dodds, Klaus J. and Lara Manóvil (2002) "Recent developments in relations between Argentina, Britain, and the Falkland Islands in the South Atlantic." In: Polar Record 38(205), 153-156.

Donachie, Stuart P. (1994) "Henryk Arctowski Station. Mixing science and tourism." In: Annals of Tourism Research 21(2), 333-343.

Douglas, Mary (1966) Purity and danger. An analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo. London and New York: Routledge, 193 p.

Dovey, Kim and Ross King (2012) "Informal Urbanism and the Taste for Slums." In: Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment 14(2), 275-293.

Doxey, G. V. (1995) "A Causation Theory of Visitor-Resident Irritants: Methodology and Research Inferences." In: Proceedings of the Travel Research Association. Sixth annual conference, San Diego, CA, 195-98.

Duerr, Benjamin (2013) "Slum Tourismus in South Africa: Im Wohnzimmer der Armen." (Online) Spiegel Online, 16/09/2013. Available at: http://www.spiegel.de/reise/fernweh/slum-tourismus-in-suedafrika-tour-durch-township-in-kapstadt-a-921957.html (accessed 18/09/2013).

Duerr, Eveline and Rivke Jaffe (2012) "Theorizing Slum Tourism: Performing, Negotiating and Transforming Inequality." In: Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe 93, 113-123.

Dyson, Peter (2010) "Slum Tourism: Representing and Interpreting 'Reality' in Dharavi, Mumbai." In: Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment 14(2), 254-274.

Edgell, David L. (1993) "Socio-cultural and environmental aspects of international tourism." In: Hubert N. van Lier and Pat D. Taylor (eds.). New challenges in recreation and tourism planning. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 213-222.

Edwards, Jeanette (1998) “The need for a ‘bit of history’. Place and past in English identity.” In: Nadia Lovell (ed.). Locality and Belonging. London and New York: Routledge, 147-167.

Eijgelaar, Eke, Carla Thaper and Paul Peeters (2010) “Antarctic cruise tourism: the paradoxes of ambassadorship, ‘last chance tourism’ and greenhouse emissions.” In: Journal of Sustainable Tourism 18(3), 337-354.

El diario del Fin del Mundo (2013a) “El Municipio tiene previsto el traslado de los contenedores al sector alto de la ciudad.” (Online) Available at: http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/46811/el-municipio-trasladara-los-contenedores-al-sector-alto-de-la-ciudad.html, 14/01/2013 (accessed 20/09/2013).

_____. (2013b) “Evalúan construir la Estación Polar Antártica en un predio del CADIC.” (Online) Available at: http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/41877/evaluan-construir-la-estacion-polar-antartica-en-un-predio-del-cadic.html, 27/03/2013 (accessed 10/10/2013).

_____. (2012a) “Se abrieron las ofertas para la ampliación de la Planta 3 de Arroyo Grande.” 29/02/2012.

_____. (2012b) “Gobierno ultima detalles para la adjudicación de obras de provisión de agua potable.” 03/02/2012.

_____. (2012c) “El tránsito, problema y prioridad.” 16/04/2012:11.

_____. (2012d) “Gastronómicos en estado de alerta y movilización.” 02/02/2012:8.

_____. (2012e) “El déficit de vivienda en Tierra del Fuego. Un 35% de las familias fueguinas no tiene casa propia.” 17/01/2012:2.

_____. (2012f) “En cumplimiento de la Ley Gaucho Rivero. Ríos prohibió el ingreso al Puerto de Ushuaia de dos cruceros turísticos ingleses.” 28/02/2012:2-3.

_____. (2012g) “Prohibición de amarre a cruceros de Las Bermudas en Puerto de Ushuaia. Desde el Municipio se advirtió que la medida ‘ha generado un daño bastante grande’.” 29/02/2012:8.

_____. (2012h) “Ley Gaucho Rivero. El gremio de los Gastronómicos, de acuerdo con la aplicación.” 01/03/2012:14.

_____. (2012i) “Repercusiones en Seatrade Miami 2012 sobre las restricciones al amarre en la Provincia. Gobierno dice que llevó ‘tranquilidad en las empresas armadoras de cruceros’.” 20/03/2012:7.

_____. (2012j) “Restricción al amarre de cruceros. Lietti: ‘El daño está hecho y es grande.’” 21/03/2012:2.

_____. (2012k) “Los impactos ambientales de la actividad portuaria en Ushuaia.” (Online) Available at: http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/46203/los-impactos-ambientales-de-la-actividad-portuaria-en-ushuaia.html, 28/11/2012 (accessed 10/01/2014).

_____. (2011a) “El Municipio dispuso la prohibición de nuevos depósitos de contenedores sobre la costa.” 13/09/2011.

_____. (2011b) “Suspendieron la distribución de agua en barrios afectados por los cortes del servicio. Por seguridad, retiran los operativos de abastecimiento.”

_____. (2011c) “Hoteles sin agua optan por restringir el ingreso de turistas.” 24/08/2011:7.

_____. (2011d) “Emergencia hídrica en Ushuaia. Gobierno propuso a vecinos que supervisen las obras para paliar la crisis del agua.” 27/08/2011:4.

_____. (2011e) “BTF lanzó creditos blandos para la compra e instalación de tanques de agua.” 24/08/2011:6.

_____. (2011f) “La industria electronica y el mercado laboral. 3300 trabajadores sin estabilidad laboral.” 14/11/2011:11.

_____. (2011g) “Propuesta para regular los alquileres inmobiliarias.” 28/12/2011:5.

_____. (2011h) “Fuerte rechazo al Concejo Deliberante por la convalidación de un barrio cerrado.” 16/12/2011:15.

_____. (2011i) “’Chispita’ dijo querer llegar a la Intendencia ‘para tener una Ushuaia más inclusiva’.” (Online) Available at: http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/36458/chispita-dijo-querer-llegar-a-la-intendencia-para-tener-una-ushuaia-mas-inclusiva.html, 24/05/2011 (accessed 28/10/2013).

_____. (2011j) “Organización brasileña distinguió a Ushuaia como ‘Ciudad con major calidad de vida’.” 30/11/2011:14.

_____. (2011k) “La COPLAM recomienda la relocalización del proyecto de Estación Polar Antártica.” (Online) Available at: http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/38708/no-en-la-reserva.html, 21/09/2011 (accessed 10/10/2013).

_____. (2011l) “La Universidad San Juan Bosco solicita información sobre el proyecto ‘EPA’ al Concejo Deliberante.” 03/11/2011:16.

_____. (2010) “A los turistas les gustó el paisaje fueguino pero se quejaron de los precios.” 15/07/2010.

_____. (2009) “Los estibadores, sin acuerdo (Puerto de Ushuaia).” (Online) Available at: http://www.consejoportuario.com.ar/noticias.aspx?id=1176, 19/01/2009 (accessed 10/10/2013).

_____. (2008) “Comienza el debate del convenio que habilitó el barrio cerrado Cauquén.” (Online) Available at: http://movil.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/m/leer/17221, 22/07/2008 (accessed 28/10/2013).

_____. (2007a) “Y la calle volvió a ser pública.” (Online) Available at: http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/8482/y-la-calle-volvio-a-ser-publica.html, 19/01/2007 (accessed 28/10/2013).

_____. (2007b) “Problemática habitacional. Más de 5000 personas viven en asentamientos irregulares en la provincia.” (Online) Available at: http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/12551/mas-de-5000-personas-viven-en-asentamientos-irregulares-en-la-provincia.html, 24/09/2007 (accessed 12/04/2014).

_____. (2007c) “Ushuaia se prepara para vivir la Semana de la Antártida.” (Online) Available at: http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/12191/ushuaia-se-prepara-para-vivir-la-semana-de-la-antartida.html, 31/08/2007 (accessed 10/10/2013).

Elias, Norbert and John L. Scotson (2008[1965]) The established and the outsiders. A sociological enquiry into community problems. London: Sage Publications, 199 p.

El Sureño (2011) “Cientos de vecinos reclamaron por los problemas que sufren por el mal suministro de agua potable.” 25/08/2011:12.

Elzinga, Aant (2013) “Punta Arenas and Ushuaia: early explorers and the politics of memory in constructing Antarctic gateway cities.” In: The Polar Journal 3(1), 227-256.

Encyclopaedia Britannica (2014a) “Patagonia.” (Online) Available at: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/446174/Patagonia/41675/Climate#toc41678 (accessed 13/01/2014).

_____. (2014b) “Augusto Pinochet.” (Online) Available at: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/461158/Augusto-Pinochet (accessed 04/04/2014).

England, J. Lynn and Stan L. Albrecht (1984) “Boomtowns and social disruption.” In: Rural Sociology 49(2), 230-246.

Enzenbacher, Debra J. (1993) “Tourists in Antarctica: numbers and trends.” In: Tourism Management 14(2), 142-146.

Escudé, Carlos (1988) “Argentine territorial nationalism.” In: Journal of Latin American Studies 20(1), 139-165.

Everhart, Robert B. (1977) “Between Stranger and Friend: Some Consequences of ‘Long Term’ Fieldwork in Schools.” In: American Educational Research Journal 14(1), 1-15.

Foster, George M. (1986) “South Seas cruise. A case study of a short-lived community.” In: Annals of Tourism Research 13, 215-238.

Francis, Jacinta, Billie Giles-Corti, Lisa Wood and Matthew Knuiman (2012) “Creating sense of community: The role of public space.” In: Journal of Environmental Psychology 32, 401-409.

Frenot, Y., Steven L. Chown, Jennie Whinam, Patricia M. Selkirk, Peter Convey, Mary Skotnicki and Dana M. Bergstrom (2005) “Biological invasions in the Antarctic: extent, impacts and implications.” In: Biological Reviews 80, 45-72.

Frenzel, Fabian (2012) “Beyond ‘Othering’. The political roots of slum tourism.” In: Fabian Frenzel, Ko Koens and Malte Steinbrink (eds.). Slum Tourism: Poverty, Power and Ethics. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 49-65.

Frenzel, Fabian and Ko Koens (2012) "Slum Tourism: Developments in a Young Field of Interdisciplinary Tourism Research." In: Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment 14(2), 195-212.

Frías, Ricardo A. and Tariana Maia Gessaga (2010) "Resilience, a necessary property for the housing problem of Ushuaia: The inherent factor for the governance." (Online) Available at: http://journals.isss.org/index.php/proceedings54th/article/view/1464/526 (accessed 10/09/2013).

Gale, Trace E. (2006) "Finding meaning in sustainability and a livelihood based on tourism: an ethnographic case study of rural citizens in the Aysen region of Chile." Dissertation, West Virginia University, 432 p.

Gales, Nicholas J., Toshio Kasyua, Phillip J. Clapham and Robert L. Brownell Jr. (2005) "Japan's whaling plan under scrutiny." In: Nature (435), 883-884.

Galletta, Anne (2013) Mastering the Semi-Structured Interview and Beyond. From Research Design to Analysis and Publication. New York: NYU Press, 260 p.

García, Amelia Beatriz and Glenda Miralles (2008) "Tierra de promisión: La Patagonia en los Manuales Estrada durante el primer peronismo." In: Quinto Sol 12, 203-225.

Gargiulo, Federico E., Sabrina Kizman and Alejandro Fazzio (2012) "Cuando el turismo genera las oportunidades que los políticos pierden..." In: El diario del Fin del Mundo, 28/03/2012.

Garramuño, Jorge A. (2001) "Prólogo." In: Ushuaia invernal. El hombre y el mar austral. Antología 2001. Cuentos y poesías. Ushuaia: Zagier & Urruty Publications, 87 p.

Geertz, Clifford (2003[1973]) "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture." In: Yvonna S. Lincoln and Norman K. Denzin (eds.). Turning Points in Qualitative Research. Tying Knots in a Handkerchief. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 143-168.

Genoni, Rodrigo (2011) "Historia de la Zona Desfavorable." (Online) Available at: http://www.ceclapampa.com.ar/escriben-los-especialistas/historia-de-la-zona-desfavorable.html (accessed 12/04/2014).

Gill, Alison (2004) "Tourism communities and growth management." In: Alan A. Lew., C. Michael Hall and Allan M. Williams (eds.). A Companion to Tourism. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 569-583.

Glaser, Barney G. and Anselm L. Strauss. (1968) The discovery of Grounded Theory. Strategies for qualitative research. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 271 p.

Gmelch, George and Sharon Bohn Gmelch (2009) "Notes from the field. Rural-urban difference and student fieldwork." City & Society 21(2), 293-306.

Goessling, Stefan (2002) "Human-environmental relations with tourism." In: Annals of Tourism Research 29(2), 539-556.

Goffman, Erving (1989[1974]) "On Fieldwork." Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 18, 123-132.

_____. (1969[1959]) The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. London: Allen Lane, 228 p.

Graefe, Alan R., Jerry J. Vaske and Fred R. Kuss (1984) "Social carrying capacity: An integration and synthesis of twenty years of research." In: Leisure Sciences: An Interdisciplinary Journal 6(4), 395-431.

Guano, Emanuela (2002) "Spectacles of Modernity: Transnational Imagination and Local Hegemonies in Neoliberal Buenos Aires." In: Cultural Anthropology 17(2), 181-209.

Guazzone di Passalacqua, Vicky (2011) "Hacer el camino inverso." In: Entrecasa 194, November 2011, Buenos Aires, 57-59.

Guba, Egon G. (1990) The Paradigm Dialog. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 424 p.

Guba, Egon G. and Yvonna S. Lincoln (1989) Fourth generation evaluation. Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 294 p.

Guber, Rosana (1984) "Identidad social villera." In: Enía 32, 115-125.

Gupta, Akhil (2007) "Imagining nations." In: David Nugent and Joan Vincent (eds.). A companion to the Anthropology of Politics. Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 267-281.

Gusinde, Martin (1982) "Los Indios de la Tierra del Fuego. Patria e historia de los Selk'nam." (Online) Available at: http://americaindigena.com/tfuego1.htm (accessed 15/11/2010). 20 p.

Gustafson, Per (2001) "Meanings of place: Everyday experience and theoretical conceptualizations." In: Journal of Environmental Psychology 21, 5-16.

Guzmán-Concha, César (2008) "Squatters and radical movements in the European urban order." Presentation held at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, Boston, MA.

Ha, Seong-Kyu (2004) "New shantytowns and the urban marginalized in Seoul Metropolitan Region." In: Habitat International 28, 123-141.

Haase, Daniela (2008) Tourism in the Antarctic. Modi operandi and regulatory effectiveness. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Canterbury, New Zealand, 249 p.

Haefele, Mark B. (2012) "Falklands or Malvinas?" In: Los Angeles Times, 17/02/2012. (Online) Available at: http://articles.latimes.com/2012/feb/17/opinion/la-oe-haefele-falklands-20120217 (accessed 30/01/2014).

Hall, Michael (1992) "Tourism in Antarctica. Activities, impacts, and management." In: Journal of Travel Research 30, 2-9.

Hall, Michael and Mariska Wouters (1994) "Managing nature tourism in the Sub-Antarctic." In: Annals of Tourism Research 21(2). 355-374.

Hammersley, Martyn and Paul Atkinson (2007[1983]) Ethnography. Principles in practice. London and New York: Routledge, 275 p.

Harrison, David (2001) "Less developed countries and tourism: the overall pattern." In: David Harrison (ed.). Tourism and the less developed countries: Issues and case studies. Wallingford: CABI, 1-22.

Harrison, Rodney, Graham Fairclough, John H. Jameson Jnr. and John Schofield (2008) "Heritage, memory and modernity." In: Graham Fairclough, Rodney Harrison, John H. Jameson Jnr. and John Schofield (eds.). The Heritage Reader. New York: Routledge, 1-12.

Haward, Marcus (2012) "The Antarctic Treaty System. Challenges, coordination, and congruity." In: Anne-Marie Brady (ed.). The Emerging Politics of Antarctica. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 13-28.

Hay, Robert (1998) "Sense of place in a developmental context." In: Journal of Environmental Psychology 18(1), 5-29.

Headland, Robert K. (1994) "Historical development of Antarctic tourism." In: Annals of Tourism Research 21(2), 269-280.

HEC (Human Ethics Committee), University of Canterbury (2013) (Online) Available at: http://www.canterbury.ac.nz/humanethics/about.shtml (accessed 26/08/2013).

Hegel, Georg W.F. (1977) Phenomenology of Spirit. [Arnold V. Miller, ed. and translator] Oxford: Clarendon Press, 595 p.

Hernández, Mario (2010) Usurpas. Insospechados migrantes. Ushuaia: Editorial Cultural Tierra del Fuego/Utopías, 230 p.

Hernandez-Garcia, Jaime (2013) "Slum tourism, city branding and social urbanism: the case of Medellin, Colombia." In: Journal of Place Management and Development 6(1), 43-51.

Hernández, Bernardo, M. Carmen Hidalgo, M. Esther Salazar-Laplace and Stephany Hess (2007) "Place attachment and place identity in natives and non-natives." In: Journal of Environmental Psychology 27, 310-319.

Hidalgo, Carmen M. and Bernardo Hernández (2001) "Place attachment: Conceptual and empirical questions." In: Journal of Environmental Psychology 21, 273-281.

Hirsch, Eric (1995) "Introduction. Landscape: Between Place and Space." In: Eric Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon (eds.). The Anthropology of Landscape. Perspectives on Place and Space. Clarendon: Oxford Press, 1-30.

Horst, Heather, Larissa Hjorth and Jo Tacchi (2012) "Rethinking ethnography: An introduction." In: Heather Horst, Larissa Hjorth and Jo Tacchi (eds.). Rethinking Digital Ethnography Today (145). The University of Queensland, 86-93.

Howkins, Adrian (2006) "Icy Relations: The Emergence of 'South American Antarctica' during the Second World War." In: Polar Record 42 (221), 153-165.

_____. (2008) "Reluctant collaborators: Argentina and Chile in Antarctica during the International Geophysical Year, 1957-58." In: Journal of Historical Geography 34, 596-617.

Hudson, William Henry (1893) Idle Days in Patagonia. London: Chapmann & Hall, 256 p.

Hughes, Janet (1994) "Antarctic historic sites. The tourism implications." In: Annals of Tourism Research 21(2), 281-294.

Hull, John S. and Simon Milne (2010) "Port readiness planning in the Arctic: Building community support." In: Michael Lueck, Patrick T. Maher and Emma J. Stewart (eds.). Cruise tourism in Polar regions. Promoting environmental and social sustainability?" London: Earthscan, 181-204.

Hummon, David M. (1992) "Community attachment: Local sentiment and sense of place." In: Irwin Altman and Setha M. Low (eds.). Place attachment. New York: Plenum Press, 253-278.

Hunter, Lori M., Richard S. Krannich and Michael D. Smith (2002) "Rural migration, rapid growth, and fear of crime." In: Rural Sociology 67(1), 71-89.

IAATO (2013) "2012-2013 Tourists by nationality." (Online) Available at: http://iaato.org/documents/10157/346545/touristsbynationality_landed.pdf/bd1e0d3c-ccb8-4b24-a552-b45c09d26a00 (accessed 15.01.2014).

_____. (2011) "2010-2011 Tourists by nationality." (Online) Available at: http://iaato.org/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=05424474-40b7-4cd1-8c34-971214c3381a&groupId=10157 (accessed 15/01/2014).

_____. (2008) "1992-2007 Antarctic tourist trends – Landed." (Online) Available at: http://iaato.org/tourism-statistics (accessed 15/01/2014).

INDEC (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos) (2010) Censo Nacional de Población, Hogares y Viviendas 2010. Total del país. Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Economía y Finanzas Públicas, 72 p.

_____. (2001) Censo Nacional de Población, Hogares y Viviendas 2001. Total del país. Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Economía y Finanzas Públicas.

_____. (1991) Censo Nacional de Población, Hogares y Viviendas 1991. Total del país. Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Economía y Finanzas Públicas.

InFueTur, Oficina Antártica (2006) "Ushuaia 'Gateway to Antarctica.' Report on the Antarctic Tourism movement through Ushuaia, 2005-2006 season. Gobierno de Tierra del Fuego." (Online) Available at: http://www.tierradelfuego.org.ar/antartida (accessed 20/10/2013).

Ingold, Tim (2010) "Footprints through the weather-world: walking, breathing, knowing." In: Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (N.S.), S121-S139.

_____. (2009) "Against space: Place, movement, knowledge." In: Peter Wynn Kirby (ed.). Boundless worlds. An anthropological approach to movement. New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 29-43.

Instituto Fueguino de Turismo (2013) "Yámanas o Yaganes." (Online) Available at: http://tierradelfuego.org.ar/historia/yamanas.php?idpag=01 (accessed 29/12/2013).

Jabour, Julia (2012) "Biological prospecting in the Antarctic. Fair game?" In: Anne-Marie Brady (ed.). The Emerging Politics of Antarctica. Taylor and Francis, 242-257.

Jackson, Michael (2005) Existential Anthropology. Events, Exigencies and Effects. New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 216 p.

Jacobs, Jane (1961) The Death and Life of Great American Cities. New York: Random House, 458 p.

Jensen, Marie and María Elena Daverio (2004) "Los cruceros turísticos en Ushuaia, Argentina. Relaciones buque-destino." In: Aportes y Transferencias 8(1), 89-111.

Jimenez, Emmanuel (1982) "The Value of Squatter Dwellings in Developing Countries". In: Economic Development and Cultural Change 30(4), 739-752.

Kasarda, John D. and Morris Janowitz (1974) "Community attachment in mass society." In: American Sociological Review 39(3), 328-339.

Kent, Noel (1977) "A new kind of sugar. Tourism in the Pacific." In: Ben R. Finney and Karen A. Watson (eds.). A new kind of sugar. Tourism in the Pacific. Honolulu: East-West Center, 169-198.

Klass, Ricardo J. (2006) "Perspectivas futuras. Reflexiones finales." In: Armando Daniel Abruza (ed.). A cien años de la presencia permanente e ininterrumpida de la Argentina en la Antártida. Ushuaia: Gobierno de la Provincia de Tierra del Fuego, 273-277.

Knez, Igor (2005) "Attachment and identity as related to a place and its perceived climate." In: Journal of Environmental Psychology 25, 207-218.

Knudsen, Daniel C., Jillian M. Rickly-Boyd and Michelle M. Metro-Roland (2012) "Landscape perspectives on tourism geographies." In: Julie Wilson (ed.). The Routledge Handbook of Tourism Geographies. London and New York: Routledge, 201-206.

Koons Trentelmann, Carla (2009) "Place attachment and community attachment: A primer grounded in the lived experience of a community sociologist." In: Society & Natural Resources: An International Journal 22, 191-210.

Koven, Seth (2004) Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 399 p.

Kucklick, Henrika (2011) "Personal Equations: Reflections on the History of Fieldwork, with Special Reference to Sociocultural Anthropology." In: Isis 102(1), 1-33.

Kuper, Adam (1973) Anthropologists and anthropology: The British School 1922-1972. New York: Pica Press, 256 p.

La Mantia, Costanza (2011) "The City of the Dead and the Urban Policies Towards Informal Settlements in Post-Revolutionary Cairo." In: Social Policy, Winter 2011, 78-81.

Lamnek, Siegfried (2005) Qualitative Sozialforschung. Lehrbuch. Weinheim and Basel: Beltz Verlag, 808 p.

La Voz Fueguina (2011) "Emilio Urruty: Periodista, escritor, docente. Al rescate de historias Fueguinas." 17-18.

Lazzaroni, Anahí (1984) “Ushuaia.” In: Arnoldo Canclini. Ushuaia 1884-1984. Cien años de una ciudad argentina. Ushuaia: Municipality of Ushuaia, Argentina, 564.

Legislatura de Tierra del Fuego (N.d.) “Ley N° 852.” (Online) Available at: http://www.legistdf.gov.ar/lp/leyes/cdleyes/LEYESP3/Ley852.htm (accessed 24/10/2013).

Leguizamón, Daniel L. (2006) “Ushuaia: Puerto de acceso a la Antártida.” In: Armando Daniel Abruza (ed.). A cien años de la presencia permanente e ininterrumpida de la Argentina en la Antártida. Ushuaia: Gobierno de la Provincia de Tierra del Fuego, 250-263.

Lehrer, Ute and Andrea Winkler (2006) “Public or Private? The Pope Squat and Housing Struggles in Toronto.” In: Social Justice 33(2), 142-157.

Liggett, Daniela, Alison McIntosh, Anna Thompson, Bryan Storey and Neil Gilbert (2010) “Stakeholder perspectives on the governance of Antarctic cruise tourism.” In: Michael Lück, Patrick T. Maher and Emma J. Stewart (eds.). Cruise Tourism in Polar Regions: Promoting Environmental and Social Sustainability. London: Earthscan, 167-179.

Lincoln, Yvonna S., Susan A. Lynham and Egon G. Guba (2011) “Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences, revisited.” In: Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.). The SAGE handbook of qualitative research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 97-128.

Lipschutz, Alejandro (1962) “Los ultimos Fueguinos: transculturación y desculturación, extinción y exterminación.” In: Genus 18(1), 89-115.

Lister, Ruth (2004) Poverty. Cambridge: Polity Press, 238 p.

López, Mariano (2008) “Declaran a la bahía Encerrada como reserva natural urbana en Ushuaia.” (Online) Available at: http://www.shelknamsur.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2562:declaran-a-la-bahia-encerrada-como-reserva-natural-urbana-en-ushuaia-&catid=38:me dio-ambiente&Itemid=58 (accessed 15/04/2014).

Lovece, Julio C. (2012) “Punto de vista. La torpeza de la demagogia.” In: El diario del Fin del Mundo, Ushuaia, 08/03/2012:2.

_____. (2011a) “Punto de vista. Los NyC, los VyQ y los TaF.” In: El diario del Fin del Mundo, Ushuaia, 14/11/2011.

_____. (2011b) “¿Muere el paisaje?” In: El diario del Fin del Mundo, Ushuaia, 21/11/2011.

_____. (2011c) “El espacio público subastado.” In: El diario del Fin del Mundo, Ushuaia, 16/11/2011:2.

Lovell, Nadia (1998) “Introduction. Belonging in need of emplacement?” In: Nadia Lovell (ed.). Locality and belonging. London and New York: Routledge, 1-24.

Low, Setha M. (2003) “The edge and the center: gated communities and the discourse of urban fear.” In: Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga (eds.). The Anthropology of Space and Place. Locating culture. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 387-407.

Low, Setha M. and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003) "Locating culture." In: Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga (eds.). The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating culture. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1-47.

Lueck, Michael (2010) "Environmental impacts of Polar cruises." In: Michael Lueck, Patrick T. Maher and Emma J. Stewart (eds.). Cruise tourism in Polar regions. Promoting environmental and social sustainability? London: Earthscan, 109-132.

Luhrmann, Tanya M. (2000) Of two minds. An anthropologist looks at American psychiatry. New York: Vintage Books, 337 p.

Lumsdon, Les M. and Jonathan S. Swift (1999) "The role of the tour operator in South America: Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay." In: International Journal of Tourism Research 1, 429-439.

MacCannell, Dean (2001) "Remarks on the commodification of Culture." In: Valene L. Smith and Maryann Brent. Hosts and Guests revisited: Tourism issues of the 21st century. New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation, 380-390.

_____. (1973) "Staged authenticity: Arrangements of social space in tourist settings." In: The American Journal of Sociology 79(3), 589-603.

Macmillan Dictionary. (2013) "The Southern Cone." (Online) Available at: http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/the-Southern-Cone (accessed 15/01/2014).

MacQuarrie, Colleen (2010) "Othering." In: Albert J. Mills, Gabrielle Durepos and Elden Wiebe (eds.). Encyclopedia of Case Study Research. Thousand Oaks: Sage publications, 636-640.

Madoni, Mónica (2006) "Ushuaia: Puerto de acceso a la Antártida." In: Armando Daniel Abruza (ed.). A cien años de la presencia permanente e ininterrumpida de la Argentina en la Antártida. Ushuaia: Gobierno de la Provincia de Tierra del Fuego, 247-249.

Maher, Patrick T. (2010) "'Awesome size…magnitude of the place…the incredible beauty…' Visitors' on-site experiences in the Ross Sea region of Antarctica." In: C. Michael Hall. Tourism and change in Polar regions. Climate, environment and experience. New York: Routledge, 215-235.

Maher, Patrick T., Margaret E. Johnson, Jackie P. Dawson and Jamie Noakes (2011) "Risk and a changing environment for Antarctic tourism." In: Current Issues in Tourism 14(4), 387-399.

Maher, Patrick T., Gary Steel and Alison McIntosh (2003) "Examining the experiences of tourists in Antarctica." In: International Journal of Tourism Research 5(1), 59-67.

_____. (2001) "Antarctica: Tourism, Wilderness, and 'Ambassadorship'." In: Alan E. Watson & Janet Sproull (compilers). Science and stewardship to project and sustain wilderness values: Seventh World Wilderness Congress symposium. November 2-8, 2001. Port Elizabeth, South Africa. Ogden, UT: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Rocky Mountain Research Station, 204-210.

Manning, Robert E., David W. Lime and Marilyn Hof (1996) "Social carrying capacity of natural areas. Theory and application in the U.S. National Parks." In: Natural Areas Journal 16(2), 118-127.

Manouvier, Léone (1881) "The Fuegians of the Jardin d'Acclimatation." (Online) Available at: https://archive.org/details/TheFuegiansOfTheJardinDacclimatation, Anthropology Society of Paris, 17/11/1881 (accessed 15/01/2014).

Mansfeld, Yoel and Aliza Jonas (2006) "Evaluating the socio-cultural carrying capacity of rural tourism communities: A 'value stretch' approach." In: Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie 97(5), 583-601.

Marcus, George E. (2011) "Multi-sited Ethnography. Five or Six Things I Know About it Now." In: Simon Coleman and Pauline von Hellermann. Multi-Sited Ethnographies. Problems and Possibilities in the Translocation of Research Methods. New York and London: Routledge, 16-32.

_____. (2009) "Introduction: Notes toward an ethnographic memoir of supervising graduate research through anthropology's decades of transformation." In: James D. Faubion and George E. Marcus (eds.). Fieldwork is not what it used to be. Learning Anthropology's method in a time of transition. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1-34.

_____. (1998) Ethnography through Thick and Thin. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 275 p.

Marcus, George E. and Michael M. J. Fischer (1986) Anthropology as cultural critique. An experimental moment in the human sciences. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 205 p.

Martínez, Miguel (2007) "The Squatters' Movement: Urban Counter-Culture and Alter-Globalization Dynamics." In: South European Society & Politics 12(3), 379-398.

Martínez, Natalia, Lais Bedoya, Angelo Fagnani, Horacio García, Javier Fernádez and Paulo Lezcano (2010) "A propósito de 'La Bolivianización de Tierra del Fuego'." (Online) Available at: http://www.eldiariodelfindelmundo.com/noticias/leer/30376/a-proposito-de-la-bolivianizacion-de-tierra-del-fuego.html, 07/07/2010 (accessed 25/11/2013).

Martinic, Mateo (2002) Brief History of the Land of Magellan. Punta Arenas: Ediciones de la Universidad de Magallanes, 135 p.

Massey, Doreen (1995) "The conceptualization of place." In: Doreen Massey and Pat Jess (eds.). A place in the world? Places, cultures and globalization. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 45-77.

_____. (1994a) Space, Place and Gender. Cambridge: Polity Press.

_____. (1994b) "Double articulation. A place in the world." In: Angelika Bammer (ed.). Displacements. Cultural identities in question. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 110-121.

Matarrita-Cascante, David (2010) “Changing communities, community satisfaction, and quality of life: A view of multiple perceived indicators.” In: Social Indicators Research 98, 105-127.

Matejowsky, Ty (2008) “The Commercial Transformation of a Philippine Cityscape. A Case from San Fernando City, La Union.” In: Lisa Cliggett and Christopher A. Pool (ed.). Economies and the Transformation of Landscape. Plymouth: Altamira Press, 291-310.

Mathieson, Alister and Geoffrey Wall (1982) Tourism: Economic, Physical, and Social Impacts. London and New York: Longman, 208 p.

McFarlane, C. (2009) “Squatter Movements.” In: Ray Hutchison (ed.). Encyclopedia of Urban Studies. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 770-772.

Mead, Margaret (1970) “The Art and Technology of Fieldwork.” In: Raoul Narrol and Ronald Cohen. A handbook of method in cultural anthropology. New York: Columbia University Press, 246-265.

Memolli, Mariano A. (2006) “Ciencia argentina en la Antártida.” In: Armando Daniel Abruza (ed.). A cien años de la presencia permanente e ininterrumpida de la Argentina en la Antártida. Ushuaia, Gobierno de la Provincia de Tierra del Fuego, 151-154.

MercoPress (2013) “Alarm in Ushuaia: cruise calls are forecasted to drop 20% this season.” (Online) Available at: http://en.mercopress.com/2010/09/01/alarm-in-ushuaia-cruise-calls-are-forecasted-to-drop-20-this-season, 01/09/2013 (accessed 20/10/2013).

_____. (2011) “Punta Arenas equally competitive to Ushuaia for the 2012/13 cruise season.” (Online) Available at: http://en.mercopress.com/2011/03/07/punta-arenas-equally-competitive-to-ushuaia-for-the-2012-13-cruise-season, 07/03/2011 (accessed 10/10/2013).

_____. (2004) “Ushuaia outbids Punta Arenas port.” (Online) Available at: http://en.mercopress.com/2004/01/26/ushuaia-outbids-punta-arenas-port, 26/01/2004 (accessed 20/10/2013).

Merriam-Webster (2014) “Gentrification.” (Online) Available at: http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/gentrification (accessed 05/02/2014).

Meschkank, Julia (2011) “Investigations into slum tourism in Mumbai: poverty tourism and the tensions between different constructions of reality.” In: GeoJournal 76, 47-62.

Metcalf, Peter (2002) They Lie, We Lie. Getting on with Anthropology. London and New York: Routledge, 155 p.

Michigan State University, Broad College of Business (2012) “Argentina: Economy.” (Online) Available at: http://globaledge.msu.edu/countries/argentina/economy (accessed 03/01/2014).

Michrina, Barry P. and CherylAnne Richards (1996) Person to Person. Fieldwork, Dialogue, and the Hermeneutic Method. New York: State University of New York Press, 176 p.

Miller, Daniel (2012) “Social Networking Sites.” In: Heather A. Horst and Daniel Miller (eds.). Digital anthropology. London and New York: Berg, 146-161.

Miller, Graham, Kathryn Rathouse, Caroline Scarles, Kirsten Holmes and John Tribe (2010) “Public understanding of sustainable tourism.” In: Annals of Tourism Research 37(3), 627-645.

Miller, Will and Kim Fendly (1995) “Uncertainty in Boomtown: Northwest Arkansas, transportation, and economic growth.” In: Arkansas Business and Economic Review 28(1), 13.

Milligan, Melinda J. (1998) “Interactional past and potential: The social construction of place attachment.” In: Symbolic Interaction 24(1), 1-33.

Ministerio de Economía, Secretaria de Hacienda (2012) “Valorización Mensual de la Canasta Básica Alimentaria.” Document, Ushuaia, 4 p.

Ministerio del Interior y Transporte (2002) “Carta orgánica municipal de la ciudad de Ushuaia.” (Online) Available at: http://www.mininterior.gov.ar/municipios/archivos_regimen/CO_TDF_ushuaia.pdf (accessed 02/01/2014).

Mitchell, Ross E. and Donald G. Reid (2001) “Community integration. Island tourism in Peru.” In: Annals of Tourism Research 28(1), 113-139.

Momentos TDF (2012) “Entrevista: Qué es la Ley de Bosques? Sirve en el caso de Tierra del Fuego?” (Online) Available at: http://www.momentostdf.com.ar/2012/01/entrevista-que-es-la-ley-de-bosques.html, 28/01/2012 (accessed 03/01/2014).

Montes, Nahuel (2001) Cuentos, mitos y leyendas patagónicos. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Continente, 125 p.

Moore, Sean R., Peter W. Williams and Alison Gill (2006) “Finding a pad in paradise: Amenity migration effects on Whistler, British Columbia.” In: Laurence A.G. Moss (ed.). The Amenity Migrants. Seeking and sustaining mountains and their cultures. Wallingford: CABI, 135-147.

Morgan, Paul (2010) “Towards a developmental theory of place attachment.” In: Journal of Environmental Psychology 30, 11-22.

Morse, Janice M. (1995) “The Significance of Saturation.” In: Qualitative Health Research 5, 147-149.

Moscardo, Gianna (2008) “Building community capacity for tourism development: Conclusions.” In: Gianna Moscardo (ed.). Community Capacity for Tourism Development. Wallingford, CAB International, 172-179.

Moss, Laurence A.G. (2006) “The amenity migrants: Ecological challenge to contemporary Shangri-La.” In: Laurence A.G. Moss (ed.). The Amenity Migrants. Seeking and sustaining mountains and their cultures. Wallingford: CABI, 3-25.

Mosti, Patricia A. (2010) “El alcance de las activitidades turísticas y recreativas en los espacios naturales del hinterland de Ushuaia – Tierra del Fuego – Argentina.” In: Estudios y Perspectivas en Turismo 19, 516-533.

Motz, Connie (2014) “Job hierarchy onboard a cruise ship.” (Online) Available at: http://www.cruiselinesjobs.com/job-hierarchy-cruise-ship/ (accessed 22/01/2014).

Mueller, Dieter K. (2006) “Amenity migration and tourism development in the Tärna Mountains, Sweden.” In: Laurence A.G. Moss (ed.). The Amenity Migrants. Seeking and sustaining mountains and their cultures. Wallingford: CABI, 245-258.

Municipalidad de Ushuaia (2013) “Ushuaia Magnífica, edición 2013-2014.” (Online) Available at: http://www.Ushuaia.gob.ar/ushuaia-magnifica (accessed 20/09/2013).

_____. (2009) “Ushuaia, Tierra del Fuego, Antártida e Islas del Atlántico Sur, República Argentina en la firma del acuerdo interinstitucional de ciudades puerta de entrada a la Antártida, Christchurch – Nueva Zelanda”. Ms, Ushuaia.

_____. (2007) “Plan estratégico de desarrollo turístico sustentable de Ushuaia.” Ms, Ushuaia, 53 p.

Nacionales (2006) “’Aspiramos a que Ushuaia sea un lugar de referencia mundial para los Asuntos Antárticos.’” 11/08/2006:7.

Nader, Laura (1972) “Up the Anthropologist – Perspectives Gained from Studying Up.” In: Dell Hymes, Reinventing Anthropology. New York: Pantheon Books, 284-311.

Navarro Floria, Pedro (2003) “La nacionalización fallida de la Patagonia Norte, 1862-1904.” In: Quinto Sol 7, 61-91.

Navarro Floria, Pedro, Leonardo Salgado and Pablo Azar (2004) “La Invención de los Ancestros: El ‘Patagón Antiguo’ y la Construcción Discursiva de un Pasado Nacional Remoto para la Argentina (1870-1915).” In: Revista de Indias LXIV(231), 405-424.

Negri, Andrew and Paul Marshall (2009) “TBT contamination of remote marine environments: Ship groundings and ice-breakers as sources of organotins in the Great Barrier Reef and Antarctica.” In: Journal of Environmental Management 90(1), 31-40.

Neild, Barry and Dave Gilbert (2013) “What lies behind renewed tensions over the Falkland Islands?” (Online) Available at: http://edition.cnn.com/2013/01/03/world/falklands-argentina-background/, 03/01/2013 (accessed 30/01/2014).

Neuwirth, Robert (2005) Shadow Cities. A billion squatters, a new urban world. London and New York: Routledge, 315 p.

Nicoletti, María Andrea (2006) “Los misioneros salesianos y la polémica sobre la extinción de los selk’nam de Tierra del Fuego.” In: Anthropologica XXIV(24), 153-177.

Nye, Joseph S. (2004) Soft power: The Means to Success in World Politics. New York: Public Affairs, 191 p.

O'Reilly, A. M. (1986) "Tourism carrying capacity. Concept and issues." In: Tourism Management 7(4), 254-258.

O'Reilly, Jessica L. (2008) "Policy and practice in Antarctica." Dissertation, University of Santa Cruz, Dpt. of Anthropology, 324 p.

Ortner, Sherry. (2011) "On neoliberalism." In: Anthropology of this century 1. (Online) Available at: http://aotcpress.com/articles/neoliberalism/ (accessed 14/04/2014).

Otero, Adriana, Lía Nakayama, Susana Marioni, Elisa Gallego, Alicia Lonac, Andrés Dimitriu, Rodrigo González and Claudia Hosid (2006) "Amenity migration in the Patagonian mountain community of San Martín de los Andes, Neuquén, Argentina." In: Laurence A.G. Moss (ed.). The Amenity Migrants. Seeking and sustaining mountains and their cultures. Wallingford: CABI, 200-211.

Owens, Lynn (2008) "From Tourists to Anti-Tourists to Tourist Attractions: The Transformation of the Amsterdam Squatters' Movement." In: Social Movement Studies 7(1), 43-59.

Paasi, Anssi (2002) "Bounded spaces in the mobile world: deconstructing 'regional identity'." In: Tjidschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie 93(2), 137-148.

Pardo, Italo and Giuliana B. Prato (2012) "Introduction: The Contemporary Significance of Anthropology in the City." In: Italo Pardo and Giuliana B. Prato (eds.). Anthropology in the City: Methodology and Theory. Surrey: Ashgate, 1-28.

Pavlov, David (2012) "Pájaros del Fuego." In: El diario del Fin del Mundo, Ushuaia, 13/04/2012:18.

Peacock, James L. (1986) The Anthropological Lens. Harsh light, soft focus. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 156 p.

Pearce, Philip L. (2013) "The relationship between residents and tourists: The research literature and management directions." In: William F. Theobald (ed.). Global Tourism: The next decade. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 253-290.

Peñaloza, Fernanda (2008) "Appropriating the 'Unattainable': The British Travel Experience in Patagonia." In: Matthew Brown (ed.), Informal Empire in Latin America. Culture, Commerce and Capital. Society for Latin American Studies, 149-172.

Perlof, Jeffrey M. and Steven C. Salop (1985) "Equilibrium with product differentiation." In: The Review of Economic Studies 52(1), 1985. 107-20.

Piana, Ernesto Luis and Luis Abel Orquera (2009) "The Southern Top of the World: The First Peopling of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego and the Cultural Endurance of the Fueguian Sea-Nomads." In: Arctic Anthropology 46 (1-2), 103-117.

Pisarro, Marcelo (2010) "La bolivianización de Tierra del Fuego." (Online) Available at: http://weblogs.clarin.com/revistaenienerdsallstar/2010/06/11/la_bolivianizacion_de_tierra_del_fuego/, 04/07/2010 (accessed 10/09/2013).

Pooley, Julie A., Lynne Cohen and Lisbeth Pike (2005) "Can sense of community inform social capital?" In: The Social Science Journal 42(1), 71-79.

Portela, Miguel A. (2006) “Ushuaia: Puerto de acceso a la Antártida.” In: Armando Daniel Abruza (ed.). A cien años de la presencia permanente e ininterrumpida de la Argentina en la Antártida. Ushuaia: Gobierno de la Provincia de Tierra del Fuego, 264-270.

Postill, John (2008) “Localizing the internet beyond communities and networks.” In: New Media & Society 10 (3), 413-431.

Postill, John and Sarah Pink (2012) “Social media ethnography: The digital researcher in a messy web.” In: Heather Horst, Larissa Hjorth and Jo Tacchi (eds.). Rethinking Digital Ethnography Today (145). The University of Queensland, 123-134.

Powell, Robert B., Stephen R. Kellert and Sam H. Ham (2008) “Antarctic tourists: ambassadors or consumers?” In: Polar Record 44(3), 233-241.

Prensa (2012a) “UTHGRA en plan de lucha.” 06/02/2012.

_____. (2012b) “’Bajamos más de cuatro mil puestos de trabajo en las fábricas.” 27/03/2012:3.

_____. (2012c) “Reacciones británicas frente al contundente apoyo a nuestro país. Denuncian que Malvinas impidió recalar a un crucero argentino.” 16/01/12.

_____. (2012d) “La Cámara de Turismo no habla más con el Gobierno provincial.” 07/03/2012.

_____. (2012e) “Cruceros prohibidos. La Cámara de Turismo irá a la Legislatura y la Justicia.” 01/03/2012:5.

_____. (2012f) “Guías molestos por la prohibición al amarre de cruceros lamentaron las declaraciones de Belous. ‘Ejercer soberanía también es proteger y conserver puestos de trabajo’.”) 2/03/2012:8.

_____. (2012g) “’Podrían haber avisado antes y no se armaba toda la estructura para esperar a los cruceros.’” 02/12/2012.

_____. (2012h) “Adrián Liendo, legislador por el Partido Popular. ‘Yo no dejaría entrar a ningún ingles al país’.” 02/03/2012:4.

_____. (2012i) “Cruceros prohibidos. Duro ataque del Gobierno hacia empresarios turísticos.” 01/03/2012:3.

_____. (2012j) “El vicegobernador Roberto Crocianelli aseguró que la decisión contó con el aval de cancillería. ‘O priorizamos la soberanía o la ecuación de una ó dos empresas’.” 29/02/2012:6.

_____. (2012k) “Ángel Brisighelli, empresario turístico. ‘Dimos un portazo y tiramos a la basura 40 años de trabajo.’” 29/02/2012a. 11.

_____. (2012l) “Legislador Eduardo Barrientos. ‘Con esta acción nos perjudicamos más nosotros que los ingleses‘.” 29/02/2012:10.

_____. (2012m) “Prohibición a cruceros. Carnival evalúa no venir más y Discovery operar desde Punta Arenas.” 19/03/2012.

_____. (2012n) “Alejandro Berola, president de la Dirección Provincial de Puertos, en la Feria Internacional Seatrade. ‘La mayoría de las empresas de cruceros se quedaron tranquilas’.” 21/03/2012:8.

_____. (2012o) “Fracasó la reunion entre Gobierno y sectores de la industria turística.” 29/02/2012:2.

_____. (2012p) “Medios españoles criticaron la prohibición de amarre a cruceros en Ushuaia. ’La Gobernadora fueguina quiso ser más patriota que la Presidenta’.” 07/03/2012:12.

_____. (2011a) “Falta de agua en Ushuaia. Vecinos organizan cacerolazo para reclamar una solución.” 18/08/2011:3.

_____. (2011b) “Preocupación por éxodo de profesionales médicos a las fábricas.” 29/11/2011:13.

_____. (2011c) “Más garantías para los que no tienen vivienda propia. Buscan modificar la ley de alquileres.” 28/12/2011:10.

_____. (2003) “’Ushuaia tiene que funcionar como puerta de entrada a la Antártida.’” 07/04/2003: 4.

Prichard, H. Hesketh (1902) Through the Heart of Patagonia. London: Heinemann, 346 p.

Priemus, Hugo (1983) “Squatters in Amsterdam: urban social movement, urban managers or something else?” In: International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 7(3), 417-427.

Proshansky, Harold M. (1978). “The city and self-identity.” In: Environment and Behavior 10(2), 147-169.

Puerto Williams (2010) “Puerto Williams, población.” (Online) Available at: http://www.ptowilliams.cl/Puerto_Williams.html (accessed 09/01/2014).

Putnam, Robert (1995) “Bowling alone. America’s declining Social Capital.” In: Journal of Democracy 6(1), 65-78.

Reisman, W. Michael (1983) “The struggle for the Falklands.” In: The Yale Law Journal 93(2), 287-317.

Relph, Edward C. (1976) Place and placelessness. London: Pion Limited, 156 p.

Riggins, Stephen Harold (1997) “The Rhetoric of Othering.” In: Stephen Harold Riggins. The Language and Politics of Exclusion. Others in Discourse. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1-30.

Ritzer, George, Michael Ryan and Jeffrey Stepnisky (2005) “Transformation in consumer settings. Landscapes and beyond.” In: S. Ratneshwar and David G. Mick. Inside Consumption. Consumer motives, goals, and desires. New York: Routledge, 292-308.

Roberts, J. Timmons (1992) “Squatters and urban growth in Amazonia.” In: Geographical Review 82(4), 441-458.

Rodriguez, Julio (2008) •Yo estuve allí! Historias de vida de Ushuaia. Ushuaia: private publisher, 316 p.

Roldan, Gabriela (2011) "Fit for the Ice. Analysing the infrastructure in Antarctic Gateway Cities." Final paper prepared for PCAS 2010/2011, 33 p.

Rolston III, Holmes (2012) A New Environmental Ethics: The Next Millennium for Life on Earth. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 257 p.

Sandoz, Teresa (2012) "¿Quién fue el Gaucho Rivero?" (Online) Available at: http://www.ellitoral.com/index.php/diarios/2012/03/29/opinion/OPIN-04.html (accessed 14/02/2014).

Sanson, Lou (1994) "An ecotourism case study in Sub-Antarctic islands." In: Annals of Tourism Research 21(2), 344-354.

Saunders, Caroline, Paul Dalziel and Peter Hayes (2007) "The contribution of Antarctic-related activities to the Canterbury and New Zealand economies." Research report prepared for Canterbury Deevelopment Corporation. Agribusiness and Economics Research Unit, Lincoln University, New Zealand, 20 p.

Schneider, Mark (1992) "Undermining the Growth Machine: The missing link between local economic development and fiscal payoffs." In: The Journal of Politics 54(1), 214-230.

Scott, Karen (2003) "Institutional developments within the Antarctic Treaty System." In: The International and Comparative Law Quarterly 52(2), 473-487.

Scott, John, Kerry Carrington and Alison McIntosh (2012) "Established-Outsider relations and fear of crime in mining towns." In: Sociologia Ruralis 52(2), 147-169.

Secretaría de Ambiente y Desarrollo Sustentable de la Nación (Senado y Cámara de Diputados) (N.d.) "Ley de presupuestos mínimos de protección ambiental de los bosques nativos." (Online) Available at: http://www.ambiente.gov.ar/archivos/web/DB/File/ley_26331_presupuestos_minimos_bosques_nativos.pdf (accessed 02/01/2014).

Secretaría de Hacienda, Ministerio de Economía (2012) "Estimación de Población y Relevamiento por Muestreo de las Ciudades de Ushuaia, Río Grande y Comuna de Tolhuin – 2010" (Online) Available at: http://estadisticas.tierradelfuego.gov.ar/estimaciones-de-poblacion/ (accessed 10/09/2013).

Secretaría de Turismo de la Municipalidad de Ushuaia (2009) (Online) "About Ushuaia." Available at: http://turismoushuaia.com/en/about-ushuaia (accessed 20/12/2013).

Secretaría de Turismo de Ushuaia (2012a) "Sintesis temporada 2011/2012." (Online) Available at: http://www.turismoushuaia.com/estadisticas/sintesis2011-12.pdf, 2 p. (accessed 20/09/2013).

_____. (2012b) "El Turismo en Ushuaia. Sintesis Año 2011." (Online) Available at: http://www.turismoushuaia.com/estadisticas/sintesis2011.pdf, 4 p. (accessed 20/09/2013).

_____. (2011a) “Informe Estadístico 2009-2010. Capítulo 4. Actividad Hotelera de Ushuaia.” (Online) Available at: http://www.turismoushuaia.com/estadisticas/iecap4n.pdf, 14 p. (accessed 20/09/2013).

_____. (2011b) “Informe Estadístico 2009-2010. Capítulo 2. Vias de Arribo.” (Online) Available at: http://www.turismoushuaia.com/estadisticas/iecap2.pdf, 12 p. (accessed 20/09/2013).

_____. (2011c) “Informe Estadístico 2009-2010. Capítulo 7. Indicadores Económicos.” (Online) Available at: http://www.turismoushuaia.com/estadisticas/iecap7.pdf, 21 p. (accessed 20/09/2013).

_____. (2011d) “Informe Estadístico 2009-2010. El Turismo en Números.” (Online) Available at: http://www.turismoushuaia.com/estadisticas/intro.pdf, 9 p. (accessed 20/09/2013).

_____. (2011e) “Sintesis Año 2010.” (Online) Available at: http://www.turismoushuaia.com/estadisticas/sintesis2010.pdf, 4 p. (accessed 20/09/2013).

_____. (2011f) “Sintesis temporada invierno 2011.” (Online) Available at: http://www.turismoushuaia.com/estadisticas/invierno2011.pdf, 3 p. (accessed 20/09/2013).

_____. (2011g) “Informe Estadístico 2009-2010. Capítulo 5. Inventario Turístico Ciudad de Ushuaia.” (Online) Available at: http://www.turismoushuaia.com/estadisticas/iecap5a.pdf, 23 p. (accessed 20/09/2013).

_____. (2010) “Ushuaia. Informe Estadístico 2009-2010. El Turismo en Números.” Document, 9 p.

_____. (2009) “Ushuaia... the southernmost paradise.” (Online) Available at: http://www.turismoushuaia.com (accessed 20/09/2013).

_____. (2006) “Encuesta Ushuaia 2006. Informe de Turismo de Cruceros.” Municipality of Ushuaia, 12 p.

Secretariat of the Antarctic Treaty (2011) “The Antarctic Treaty.” (Online) Available at: http://www.ats.aq/e/ats.htm (accessed 17/01/2014).

Selby, Martin (2012) “Geographies of tourism and the city.” In: Julie Wilson (ed.). The Routledge Handbook of Tourism Geographies. London and New York: Routledge, 232-239.

Sheppard, Valerie (2010) “Exploring the Ethical Standards of Alaska Cruise Ship Tourists and the Role they Inadvertently Play in the Unsustainable Practices of the Cruise Ship Industry.” In: Michael Lueck, Patrick T. Maher and Emma J. Stewart. Cruise Tourism in Polar Regions. Promoting Environmental and Social Sustainability? London: Earthscan, 75-92.

Sheridan, Lynnaire and Gregory Teal (2006) “Fantasy and Reality: Tourist and Local Experiences of Cruise Ship Tourism in Ensenada, Baja California, Mexico.” In: Ross K. Dowling (ed.). Cruise Ship Tourism. CAB International Publishing, 315-2006.

Shipton, Eric Earle (1963) Land of Tempest. Travels in Patagonia, 1958-62. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 224 p.

Skey, Michael (2006) "'Carnivals of surplus emotion?' Towards an understanding of the significance of ecstatic nationalism in a globalising world." In: Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism 6(2), 143-161.

SkyscraperCity (2011) "Ushuaia – Shopping Paseo del Fuego." (Online) Available at: http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=490193&page=4&langid=5, 10/07/2011 (accessed 28/09/2013).

Sluka, Jeffrey A. and Antonius C.G.M. Robben (2007) "Fieldwork in Cultural Anthropology: An Introduction." In: Robben, Antonius C.G.M. and Jeffrey A. Sluka (eds.). Ethnographic Fieldwork. An Anthropological Reader. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1-28.

Smith, Dorothy E. (ed.) (2006) Institutional ethnography as practice. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 263 p.

Smith, Michael D., Richard S. Krannich and Lori M. Hunter (2001) "Growth, decline, stability, and disruption: A longitudinal analysis of social well-being in four western rural communities." In: Rural Sociology 66(3), 425-450.

Smith, Neil (1996) The new urban frontier. Gentrification and the revanchist city. London and New York: Routledge, 267 p.

Snow, David A. and Leon Anderson (1993) Down on their Luck. A study of homeless street people. Berkeley: University of California Press, 391 p.

Sørensen, Helle (2006) "Cozumel: The Challenges of Cruise Tourism." In: Ross K. Dowling (ed.). Cruise Ship Tourism. CAB International Publishing, 350-359.

Spennemann, Dirk H. R. (2007) "Extreme cultural tourism. From Antarctica to the moon." In: Annals of Tourism Research 34(4), 898-918.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty (1985) "The Rani of Sirmur: An essay in reading the archives." In: History and Theory 24(3), 247-272.

Steinbrink, Malte (2012) "'We did the Slum!' – Urban Poverty Tourism in Historical Perspective." In: Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment 14(2), 213-234.

Stelfox, Dave (2013) "How the corrala movement is occupying Spain." In: The Guardian (Online) Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/04/corrala-movement-occupying-spain, 04/03/2013 (accessed 10/09/2013).

Stevenson, Deborah. (2013) The City. Cambridge: Polity Press, 203 p.

Stewart, Pamela J. and Andrew Strathern (2003) "Introduction." In: Pamela J. Stewart and Andrew Strathern (eds.). Landscape, Memory and History. Anthropological Perspectives. London and Sterling, VA: Pluto Press, 1-15.

Stokowski, Patricia A. (1993) "Undesirable lag effects in tourist destination development: A Colorado case study." In: Journal of Travel Research 32(2), 35-41.

Susskind, Lawrence and Michael O'Hare (1977) "Strategies for facility siting and compensating impacted communities and individuals: Summary report." Laboratory of Architecture and Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 52 p.

Sutton, David E. (1997) "The Vegetarian Anthropologist." In: Anthropology Today 13(1), 5-8.

Swords, Alicia C. and Ronald L. Mize (2008) "Beyond Tourist Gazes and Performances: U.S. Consumption of Land and Labor in Puerto Rican and Mexican Destinations." In: Latin American Perspectives 35(3), 53-69.

Taborda Strusiat, Ramón (2005) "Un candidato distinto." In: El Observador 2(2), 20-25.

Taket, Ann, Beth R. Crisp, Annemarie Nevill, Greer Lamaro, Melissa Graham and Sarah Barter-Godfrey (eds.) (2004) Theorising Social Exclusion. London and New York: Routledge, 232 p.

Tambiah, Stanley Jeyaraja (1990) Magic, science, religion, and the scope of rationality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 187 p.

Tarlet, Jean (1993) "French planning for tourism and recreation – new perspectives." In: Hubert N. van Lier and Pat D. Taylor. New challenges in recreation and tourism planning. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 35-68.

Taylor, Charles (2002) "Modern Social Imaginaries." In: Public Culture 14(1), 91-124.

Tedlock, Barbara (1991) "From Participant Observation to the Observation of Participation. The Emergence of Narrative Ethnography." Journal of Anthropological Research 47(1), 69-94.

Terkenli, Theano S. (2011) "From Landscape to Tourism and Back: The Emergence of a Greek Landscape Conscience." In: Zoran Roca, Paul Claval and John Agnew (eds.). Landscapes, Identities and Development. Surrey: Ashgate, 227-241.

Terrazas (2010) "Departamentos en Ushuaia. Una solución y un buen negocio." May 2010, 84-85.

Thompson, Andrew S. (1992) "Informal Empire? An Exploration in the History of Anglo Argentine Relations, 1810–1914." In: Journal of Latin American Studies 24(2): 419-436.

Tiempo Fueguino (2013) "En busca de la ciudad más austral del mundo." (Online) Available at: http://www.tiempofueguino.com/11309-en-busca-de-la-ciudad-mas-austral-del-mundo.html, 23/12/2013 (accessed 10/01/2014).

_____. (2012a) "Industrias fueguinas. Colazo preocupado ante posibles suspensions y despidos en las industrias de TDF." 14/04/2012:8.

_____. (2012b) "El fantasma del desabastecimiento en las electrónicas." 29/02/2012:5.

_____. (2012c) "Ingreso de personal a las fábricas. Desde la UOM dijeron que va a mejorar en los próximos meses." 25/02/2012:10.

_____. (2012d) "Se tensa la relación entre empresarios y el gobierno. La Gobernadora ratificó la prohibición sobre Cruceros." 29/02/2012:4.

_____. (2012e) "'Podrían haber avisado antes y no se armaba toda la estructura para esperar a los cruceros.'" 02/03/2012:14.

_____. (2012f) "Guías molestos por la prohibición al amarre de cruceros lamentaron las declaraciones de Belous. 'Ejercer soberanía también es proteger y conservar puestos de trabajo'." 02/03/2012:8.

_____. (2012g) "Prohibición de amarre a cruceros por la Ley Gaucho Rivero. La Cámara de Turismo no habla más con el Gobierno provincial." 07/03/2012.

_____. (2012h) "Aplicación de la Ley Gaucho Rivero. Fuerte polémica por el bloqueo a los cruceros ingleses." 29/02/2012:2-3.

_____. (2012i) "Prohibición a cruceros. Carnival evalúa no venir más y Discovery operar desde Punta Arenas. " 19/03/2012.

_____. (2012j) "Apoyo a la Gobernadora. Marinello: 'Dimos un ejemplo al sancionar la Ley Gaucho Rivero'. " 10/03/2012.

Tindigarukayo, Jimmy (2002) "The Squatter Problem in Jamaica." In: Social and Economic Studies 51(4), 95-125.

Torres, Susana B. (2010) "Pensando Patagonia desde Patagonia." In: V. Borquez et al. Segundo Congreso de Estudiantes de Historia Regional y Patagónica en Ushuaia. Ushuaia: Editorial Cultural Tierra del Fuego, 191-200.

Toumey, Christopher P. (1987) "Jemmy Button." In: The Americas 44(2), 195-207.

Tuan, Yi-Fu (1986) "Strangers and strangeness." In: Geographical Review 76(1), 10-19.

_____. (1977) Space and Place: the perspective of experience. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 235 p.

_____. (1975) "Place: An experiential perspective." In: Geographical Review 65(2), 151-165.

Turin De La Llosa, Érica M. (2010) "Los asentamientos irregulares en la ciudad de Ushuaia y su impacto socio-ambiental." In: Segundo Congreso de Estudiantes. Historia Regional y Patagónica. Ushuaia, Tierra del Fuego. Ushuaia: Editora Cultural Tierra del Fuego, 87-96.

UNData (2011-13) "City population by sex, city, and city type." (Online) Available at: http://data.un.org/Data.aspx?d=POP&f=tableCode%3A240 (accessed 20/12/2013).

UN Habitat (2003) "The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements." London and Sterling, VA: Earthscan Publications, 310 p.

United Nations Development Programme (2013) "International Human Development Indicators." (Online) Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries#A (accessed 20/01/2014).

Urry, John (2001[1990]) The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies. London: SAGE (2nd Edition), 183 p.

_____. (1995) Consuming places. London and New York, Routledge, 257 p.

Urry, John, and Jonas Larsen (2011) The Tourist Gaze 3.0. London: SAGE Publications, 282 p.

Ushuaia Patrimonio. (2013) "La identidad se construye entre todos." (Online) Available at: http://ushuaiapatrimonio.blogspot.co.nz/2013/08/la-identidad-se-construye-entre-todos.html, 03/08/2013 (accessed 25/10/2013).

_____. (2011a) "Edificios declarados Patrimonio Cultural de Ushuaia." (Online) Available at: http://ushuaiapatrimonio.blogspot.co.nz/2011/11/edificios-declarados-patrimonio.html, 21/11/2011 (accessed 25/10/2013).

_____. (2011b) "La Municipalidad local insiste con el proyecto Estación Polar Antártica en la costa de Ushuaia." (Online) Available at: http://ushuaiapatrimonio.blogspot.co.nz/2011/11/la-municipalidad-local-insiste-con-el.html, 16/11/2011 (accessed 20/10/2013).

UTHGRA (Unión de Trabajadores del Turismo, Hoteleros y Gastronómicos de la República de Argentina) (2012) "Informe de Canastas y Sueldos." Document, April 2012.

Vairo, Carlos P. (1998) Ushuaia. Ushuaia: Zagier and Urruty Publications, 224 p.

Valdez, Mariana, Mario Coliboro, Gonzalo Calvo and Alejandra Bustos (2010) "¿Ocupantes o Usurpadores? Una etnografía de los asentamientos en Comodoro Rivadavia." In: Segundo Congreso de Estudiantes. Historia Regional y Patagónica. Ushuaia, Tierra del Fuego. Ushuaia: Editora Cultural Tierra del Fuego, 99-114.

van Aert, Peter (2013) "Tierra del Fuego." In: Godfrey Baldacchino (ed.). The Political Economy of Divided Islands. Unified Geographies, Multiple Polities. Palgrave Macmillan, 195-211.

_____. (2010) "Hacia una comprensión y construcción genuina; el caso de la realidad social de Ushuaia." In: V. Borquez et al. Segundo Congreso de Estudiantes de Historia Regional y Patagónica en Ushuaia. Ushuaia: Editorial Cultural Tierra del Fuego, 223-237.

_____. (2004) Ushuaia. A case of socio-economic disorder in a political utopia. Unpublished Master's thesis, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 63 p.

van Aert, Peter and Mariano Malizia (2010) "La incidencia de la inmigración en la construcción de capital social: el caso de Ushuaia (Tierra del Fuego, Argentina)". In: Enrique del Acebo Ibáñez and Helgi Gunnlaugsson (eds.). La circumpolaridad como fenomeno sociocultural. Buenos Aires: University of Buenos Aires, 385-404.

Van Gelder, Jean-Louis (2010) "Tales of Deviance and Control: On Space, Rules, and Law in Squatter Settlements." In: Law & Society Review 44(2), 239-268.

Vaske, Jerry J. and Katherine C. Kobrin (2001) "Place attachment and environmentally responsible behaviour." In: The Journal of Environmental Education 32(4), 16-21.

Vereda, Marisol (2008) "Tierra del Fuego y Antártida. Un inventario de recursos turísticos desde la idea de la complementaridad." In: Estudios y Perspectivas en Turismo 17, 199-225.

_____. (2007) "Análisis de la Relación de Ushuaia con el Turismo Antártico desde su Rol de Puerta de Entrada Marítima. Una Aproximación desde los Indicadores Socio-Económicos

para la Temporada 2005/2006." In: Actas VIII Jornadas Nacionales y II Simposio Internacional de Investigación – Acción en Turismo. Universidad Nacional de Misiones, Argentina 07-09/07/2007, 17 p.

_____. (2005) "La visión de Antártida y Ushuaia desde la mirada del visitante antártico. Una posibilidad de construir la complementariedad de destinos." Paper presented at VII Jornadas Nacionales y I Simposio Internacional de Investigación-Acción en Turismo. Universidad Nacional del Sur, Bahía Blanca, Argentina, 06-08/10/2005.

_____. (2004) "El Impacto del Turismo Antártico en el Desarrollo de Ushuaia, Tierra del Fuego. Indicadores Socio-Economicos." Paper presented at VI Jornadas Nacionales y I Simposio Internacional de Investigación-Acción en Turismo. Ushuaia, Argentina. 21-24/04/2004, 14 p.

Vereda, Marisol and Patricia Mosti (2005) "Abastecimiento de Buques de Turismo Antártico: Una Oportunidad Para el Desarrollo Local. Producción Primaria de Bienes de Consumo (Ushuaia, Tierra del Fuego)." Paper presented at VII Jornadas Nacionales de Investigación-Acción en Turismo y I Simposio Internacional. Universidad Nacional del Sur, Bahía Blanca, Argentina. 06-08/10/2005, 15 p.

Villena, Pablo, Peter van Aert and Sergio Rodriguez (2010) "Plan Estratégico de Turismo Sustentable de la Provincia de Tierra del Fuego. Informe Final. Análisis de impacto ambiental. Análisis de impacto social." Ms, 56 p.

Vogel, Michael P. (2011) "Monopolies at Sea: The Role of Onboard Sales for the Cruise Industry's Growth and Profitability." In: Matias Álvaro. Tourism Economics. Berlin and Heidelberg: Springer, 211-229.

Wallingre, Noemí (2004) "El turismo como factor de reconversión productiva local en la ciudad de Ushuaia, República Argentina." In: Turismo y Sociedad V(3), 86-95.

Warf, Barney (2012) "Nationalism, cosmopolitanism, and geographical imagination." In: The Geographical Review 102(3), 271-292.

Watson, C. W. (1999) "Introduction: The quality of being there." In: C.W. Watson (ed.), Being there. Fieldwork in Anthropology. London: Pluto Press, 1-24.

Weaver, Adam (2005) "The McDonaldization Thesis and Cruise Tourism." In: Annals of Tourism Research 32(2), 346-366.

Weber, Rachel (2002) "Exctracting Value from the City: Neoliberalism and Urban Redevelopment." In: Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore (eds.). Spaces of Neoliberalism. Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 172-193.

WebFinance (2014) "Branding." (Online) Available at: http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/branding.html (accessed 20/01/2014).

Williams, Peter W. and Alison Gill (2013) "Tourism carrying capacity and management issues." In: William F. Theobald (ed.). Global Tourism: The next decade. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 431-458.

Wilson, Tamar Diana (2008) “Introduction: The impacts of tourism in Latin America.” In: Latin American Perspectives 35(3), 3-20.

Wintour, Patrick (2012) “David Cameron refuses Falklands letter from Cristina Kirchner.” In: The Guardian, 20/06/2012. (Online) Available at: http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2012/jun/19/falklands-americas (accessed 13/09/2013).

World Bank (2011) “Overview: Social Capital.” (Online) Available at: http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/EXTTSOCIALCAPITAL/0,,contentMDK:20642703~menuPK:401023~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:401015,00.html (accessed 13/11/2013).

Worman, Guillermo (2012) “Desidia y desolación en Bahía Encerrada.” (Online) Available at: http://www.94diez.com/noticias/leer/1076-desidia-y-desolaci-n-en-bah-a-encerrada.html (accessed 15/04/2014).

_____. (2011a) “La industria vs. el turismo, y viceversa.” In: El diario del Fin del Mundo, Ushuaia, 14/11/2011:7.

_____. (2011b) “El desafío de hacer una ciudad soñada.” In: El diario del Fin del Mundo, Ushuaia, 08/09/2011:2.

Yeoh, Seng Guan (2001) “Creolized Utopias: Squatter Colonies and the Post-Colonial City in Malaysia.” In: Sojourn 16(1), 102-124.

Ygobone, Aquiles D. (1945) La Patagonia en la Realidad Argentina. Estudio de los Problemas Sociales, Económicos e Institucionales de las Gobernaciones del Sur. Buenos Aires: Editorial “El Ateneo” Librería, 780 p.

Young, Michael W. (ed.) (1979) The ethnography of Malinowski. The Trobriand Islands 1915-18. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 254 p.

Zukin, Sharon (1998) “Urban lifestyles: Diversity and standardisation in spaces of consumption.” In: Urban Studies 35(5-6), 825-839.

_____. (1987) “Gentrification: Culture and Capital in the Urban Core.” In: Annual Review of Sociology 13, 129-147.

## Images and Figures sourced

All photographs used in this thesis were taken by the author between 2011 and 2012, with the exception of the following:

Figure 1.2: National Geographic Society (2004). Available at: http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/ngm/0401/feature3/map.html (accessed 15/08/2013).

Figure 3.1: Municipality of Ushuaia (2013). Available at: http://www.Ushuaia.gob.ar/ushuaia-magnifica (accessed 20/09/2013).

Figure 4.4: Andrés Camacho, Secretaría de Turismo de la Municipalidad de Ushuaia, n.d.

Figure 4.7: GoogleMaps.com (n.d.) Available at: https://maps.google.com (accessed 09/02/2014).

Figure 4.8: Ron Niebrugge, WildNature Images (n.d.) Available at: https://www.wildnatureimages.com/Argentina/Ushuaia-Casino-Pictures.htm (accessed 15/02/2014).

Figure 4.10: Fred J. Bellomy (2006). Available at: http://www.fredbellomy.com/latinamerica/ushuaia.htm (accessed 22/12/2013).

Figure 4.11: Sonya Brunt (2008). Available at: http://www.panoramio.com/photo/8698668 (accessed 22/12/2013).

Figure 4.12: Anonymous (n.d.). Source unknown.

Figure 6.1: Secretaría de Hacienda (Gobierno de la Provincia de Tierra del Fuego Antártida e Islas del Atlántico Sur; Dirección General de Estadística y Censos) (2012). "Plano de Estratificación Geográfica Ushuaia."

Figure 6.2: Policía Científica, Provincia de Tierra del Fuego (2011).

Figure 6.5: Policía Científica, Provincia de Tierra del Fuego (2011).

Figure 7.1: Deviant Art (2011). Available at: http://hetaliaantarctica. deviantart.com/art/Territorial-claims-in-Antarctica-270410898 (accessed 11/11/12).

Figure 8.4: Mappery [via http://www.InterPatagonia.com] (n.d.) Available at: http://mappery.com/map-of/Ushuaia-Map (accessed 10/11/2013).